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Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia

Distribution, position and manifestations of social capital

Sbory adventistů a mormonů v Česku

Rozmístění, postavení a projevy sociálního kapitálu

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Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto práci vypracoval samostatně, pouze za použití uvedené literatury.

V Praze, dne:

.....

Daniel Reeves

Poděkování:

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Abstract:

This research examines the congregations of two relatively young, “western” Christian churches (namely the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints - Mormons) within Czechia, as sources of social capital for their members. To place these congregations into a spatial context and to shed light on the organizational base of their extensive social networks, the distribution and position (in terms of percentage of adherents as a portion of the total population) of the respective churches are explored at global, regional (European) and local (Czechia) levels. Quantitative and qualitative methods are used to attempt to measure the strength of Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia as a viable source of social capital and to explore the diverse ways in which members benefit from belonging. The levels of trust and participation measured within congregations indeed suggest that they present ideal conditions for the development of social capital. Experiences and specific examples of active participants in Adventist and Mormon communities in Czechia confirm the existence of social capital benefits arising from their participation in a congregation.

Keywords: Adventists, geography of religion, Mormons, religious communities, social capital

Předkládaná práce se zabývá dvěma relativně mladými „západními“ křesťanskými církvemi (tj. Církve Adventistů sedmého dne a Církve Ježíše Krista Svatých posledních dnů – Mormoni) v Česku jako zdroji sociálního kapitálu pro jejich členy. Práce zkoumá rozšíření a postavení (procento věřících z celkové populace) uvedených církví na globální, regionální (Evropa) i lokální (Česko) úrovni, což jednak umožňuje zasazení církví do prostorového kontextu a zároveň objasňuje organizaci jejich rozvětvených sociálních sítí. Ke změření potenciálu jednotlivých církví jako funkčního zdroje sociálního kapitálu a k určení, jakými způsoby je věřícím členství přínosné, byly využity kvantitativní a kvalitativní metody výzkumu. Získané hodnoty důvěry a účasti naznačují, že právě tyto společenství disponují ideálními podmínkami pro rozvoj sociálního kapitálu. Navíc osobní zkušenosti a konkrétní příklady aktivních členů církví Adventistů a Mormonů v Česku potvrzují, že účast ve společenství přináší pozitivní sociální kapitál.

Klíčová slova: Adventisté, geografie náboženství, mormoni, náboženské komunity, sociální kapitál

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1. Introduction

Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.

Ephesians 2:19

When I moved to Prague with my family in 2006 to study at Charles University, there were a lot of tasks we needed to accomplish to successfully establish a home and new routines in a foreign society and culture. We needed to find affordable housing in a good location, employment that would help support our family as I studied, advice on working through the visa application and registration process and many other things to help us adapt to our new home. The first people we turned to for help were acquaintances in the local branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). In many cases, such help was offered without our asking for it and we quickly developed strong friendships with other Mormons that we had not known at all, a short time previously. Not long afterwards, we found ourselves on the other side of the exchange, offering help and assisting other individuals and families in our congregational family.

The fact that individuals, who worship together, discussing ways to follow the example and teachings of Jesus Christ on the weekends, will be more likely to develop friendships and to help one another is a completely logical assumption. The same assumption, however, creates many interesting questions that form the backbone of this research. For instance, how can social relations and the help provided among members of a religious group be measured and how do such expressions change from place to place, according to the size of the congregation or the characteristics of the area and population that a given congregation services? My family's experiences in moving to a new area caused me to start considering the role that church communities, particularly those representing religious minorities (i.e., in Czechia, non-Catholic groups) play in their members' everyday lives, and how this role might express itself differently from group to group, due to the characteristics of the congregations themselves as well as those of their various locations.

Based on similarities in their beliefs, origin and worldwide membership numbers (these will be discussed in more detail, later), I decided to examine the Czech congregations of two churches: the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹ There

¹ In general, I will refer to these churches by their entire, official names to avoid confusion. I will use the words Adventist and Mormon, respectively, to discuss the individual members of the two respective churches.

are relatively few Adventists in Czechia (7555 at the end of 2007, 145th Annual Statistical Report - 2007) and very few Mormons (2028 as of 2007, www.newsroom.lds.org).

In recent decades, sociologists have paid increased attention to topics concerning religion, recognizing that the secularization theory, rooted in the ideas of Max Weber and other early sociologists, which states that religion should continue to decrease in significance during the modern era, has not proven itself to be completely accurate (Henkel 2006). Religion, religious practices and religious organizations continue to impact – to varying degrees – social and cultural processes in modern societies. Czech society has been classified as one of the most secularized in the world (Havlíček 2006)², making it an interesting location for a study concerning the geography of religious communities. How much social capital can the religious congregations of two relatively small churches (on the Czech religious scene) generate for their members, in such a society, and how is this social capital manifested?

1.2 Thesis objectives and structure

This research is intended to build upon previously conducted research, focused on the geography of religion and on issues surrounding the concept of social capital.

Central questions I intend to answer include:

- How have Adventism and Mormonism developed and spread from similar beginnings to become international organizations and how do global distributions of Adventists and Mormons compare?
- Where are these churches' congregations located, or concentrated, within Czechia?
- What patterns exist, in terms of potential for social capital as it has been measured and examined in this research?
- How is the concept of social capital qualitatively expressed in these congregations, i.e. how can membership in an Adventist or Mormon congregation help one in meeting his/her life needs?

The thesis is divided into two main sections, with the first being a spatial and quantitative portrayal of the distribution and position of Adventists and Mormons, initially at global and regional (Europe) scales and subsequently within the borders of the Czech Republic. This section includes a historical overview of the global diffusion of Adventism and Mormonism as well as a look at the relative position (measured as the percentage of adherents from each country's population) of the respective churches in various countries. The second major division focuses on manifestations of social capital in Adventist and Mormon congregations in

² 61.1% of all respondents from Czechia interviewed for the World Values Survey, in 1999, stated that they did not believe in God (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Vietnam was the only country to record a higher percentage of "non-believers" (81.2%) in the survey (country-wide data) from 1995 to 2002.

Czechia. It will include detailed results from a survey, focusing on potential for the creation of social capital in 183 congregations (both Adventist and Mormon) in Czechia as well as a qualitative look at specific benefits arising from social capital, created in these same congregations and available to their members.

1.3 Hypotheses

I have formulated two main hypotheses that will be examined and tested with this research.

- As a noticeable benefit of belonging and participating in an Adventist or Mormon congregation, social capital plays a significant role in making membership in either of these churches attractive, both to church members and to potential members (“outsiders”), aiding in the construction of a rational explanation for the rapid growth and global expansion of both churches.
- The size of a congregation, in terms of its number of active participants, is expected to be positively correlated with the congregation’s strength as a source of social capital for its members. Furthermore, it is expected that this positive correlation is true up to a certain point, a critical congregation size, after which decreasing returns will be evident for increasingly large congregations.

I include this qualifying statement in the second hypothesis mainly to account for assumptions arising out of the existence of so-called mega-churches, congregations that often have a thousand or more active members. It is logical to assume that after a certain point, overall group cohesion will begin to decline. I expect the strength of increasingly large congregations, as a source of social capital, to decline as well, after a critical size has been exceeded. I do not expect Adventist or Mormon congregations in Czechia to even approach one thousand active members in a congregation; nonetheless, I will control for the existence of a critical size and decreasing returns in connection with this hypothesis.

2. Literature discussion

Due to the wide array of topics this thesis examines, it is helpful to divide this discussion of literature thematically to make it both more accessible and understandable. The first division describes certain theoretical points of departure that form a foundation for this research. Literature from geographic and sociological disciplines, focusing on religious topics and more especially on the two churches being examined, comprises the second division. The third and final section of the literature discussion details recent publications and research trends, surrounding the concept of social capital.

2.1 Theoretical foundation

Brace, Bailey and Harvey (2006, title) describe a “framework for investigating historical geographies of religious identities and communities.” They emphasize the fact that religious participation extends beyond the confines of the chapel, mosque or synagogue and is, “in terms both of institutional organization and of personal experience, central not only to the spiritual life of society but also to the constitution and reconstitution of that society” (p. 29). The framework they propose is based on using historical sources and qualitative methods to analyze and describe the effects of religious participation on perceptions of identity, place and space. It highlights principles such as the importance of boundaries, cultural distinctions between insiders and outsiders and the importance of institutions in creating and recreating a sense of identity (see also Paasi 1991).

In constructing a theoretical basis for this research, I also found inspiration in economic theory, through articles from Iannaccone and Stark. Iannaccone (1997, title) proposes using rational choice theory as a “framework for the scientific study of religion”. He develops the rationale of this framework by perceiving a religious “market”, in which various religious organizations and movements present their ideological and spiritual “products” to consumers – the general public. Iannaccone’s rational choice framework rests on three distinct assumptions:

- **“Assumption 1:** Individuals act rationally, weighing the costs and benefits of potential actions, and choosing those actions that maximize their net benefits.
- **“Assumption 2:** The ultimate preferences (or ‘needs’) that individuals use to assess costs and benefits tend not to vary much from person to person or time to time.
- **“Assumption 3:** Social outcomes constitute the equilibria that emerge from the aggregation and interaction of individual actions.” (Iannaccone 1997, p 26)

I must admit that, as a religious individual, I struggled initially with the idea of applying economic theory to religion and that I still disagree with the underlying philosophy of such an

application, which seems to overlook both the existence and importance of divine truth. However, I appreciate the way that this framework provides a foundation for investigating certain aspects of religious participation. Iannaccone's framework is useful, for instance, in attempting to explain the growth and diffusion of religious movements (i.e. by allowing them to be viewed as products or innovations in a "religious" market) or in describing the effects of competition among churches for new members (religious "consumers"). (Iannaccone 1997, see also Iannaccone 1998, Iannaccone and Stark 1997). For the purposes of this research, rational choice theory will be helpful primarily in providing a means to view social capital as a direct benefit of active membership in a church and in recognizing the way certain religious practices, common among Adventists and Mormons, help to limit free-riding (this concept will be discussed in more detail in the next section) and increase levels of trust within a congregation.

To summarize and clarify, the theoretical foundation of this thesis is a utilitarian combination of two somewhat divergent frameworks. The first, presented by Brace, Bailey and Harvey, is helpful in investigating the many interconnected elements involved in geographies of religion, especially in terms of the connections between religion, local identity and perceptions of place and space. The second framework, presented by Iannaccone, utilizes rational choice theory to explore religious organizations, including the motivations and actions of both members (religious consumers) and clergy or church leadership (religious producers).

2.2 Religious groups as a subject of scientific inquiry

While scientists and the general public, for that matter, often recognize something of a conflict between science and religion, the truth that religion has played and continues to play significant roles in societies throughout the world is undeniable. Nonetheless, religion and its myriad influences in social networks, in terms of time and space, are frequently overlooked. As Kong (2001, p 212) states: "In many instances, in the same breath that race, class and gender are invariably invoked and studied as ways by which societies are fractured, religion is forgotten or conflated with race." Religion not only merits inclusion as a criterion for understanding social relations and societies, in general; its omission as an 'axis of identity' along with race, class, nationality and gender (Brace, Bailey and Harvey 2006) is a mistake, particularly in the case of active participants in religious organizations.

Although geographic research on religion has been conducted for several decades, a number of social scientists regard such research as being sporadic, thematically divergent and unorganized.³ Kong (2001) refutes claims that geographic research on religion lacks coherence and is in a state of disarray and provides a detailed and organized review of such research during the 1990s. She frames this review around "politics and poetics in modernity,"

³ The same could be said of many post-modernist approaches and sub-disciplines.

demonstrating how religion impacts societies and individuals in both secular (political) and spiritual (poetic) ways (Kong 2001, title).

Articles from Dunn (1996) and Ley (2008) were very useful sources in preparing and conducting the research for this thesis. Both articles use qualitative methods to explore social networks and benefits derived from active participation in religious organizations. Dunn (1996) examines the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' welfare program to give an example of a non-standard form of civil society, practiced in the West. The term "civil society", as Dunn uses it: "the social relationships which involve the voluntary association and participation of individuals acting in their private capacities" (Tester, quoted in Dunn 1996), is very similar to the concept of "social capital", which I will discuss in greater depth in the following section. Dunn demonstrates how Mormons repeatedly give gifts (time, service, money, etc.) into a collective fund, from which their ecclesiastical leader (a bishop or a branch president) is able to access money and actual products (food or clothing items) to help those within the congregation, and even people in the surrounding community (outsiders), who require such help.

Ley's recent article (2008) "The immigrant church as an urban service hub" offers an excellent mix of two central themes of this thesis: religious participation and its resulting social benefits. Ley explores the way that immigrant churches in the Vancouver area, catering respectively to groups of German, Chinese and Korean immigrants, were successful in retaining high rates of participation, mainly through the provision of much-needed social services for waves of new immigrants, only for a limited amount of time. As the second generation (the first generation born in Canada) matured, participation in the churches' congregations dropped, because the linguistic and cultural services that had been so important to the first generation immigrants did not have the same appeal to their Canadian-born children. This is a pattern that the German immigrant churches experienced first, as they were primarily established in the 1950s. The Chinese and Korean churches are facing or soon will face similar difficulties in encouraging active participation. Many of these immigrant churches are converting to a multi-ethnic service approach as a means of extending and diversifying their existence as a religious organization. In accordance with Iannaccone's rational choice models for religious participation, we could say that these immigrant churches are modifying their product to meet the demands of a changing market.

McBride (2007) uses club and game theories (see Sandler and Tschirhart 1997, Johnston et al 1994) to investigate the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He examines the way this church provides a "menu" of potential membership benefits, from which Mormons may then select desired outcomes. Such benefits are "purchased" through active participation in group activities and in the church's organizational structure. McBride develops this form of positive

reinforcement as an element of a church's "club-like" structure, which encourages active member participation and increases satisfaction, and which could be employed as an alternative to – but, perhaps, more likely in combination with – forms of stigma-screening (dietary and behavioral restrictions) for effectively increasing member devotion, while at the same time effectively decreasing any incentive to free ride. (McBride 2007)

The opposing terms *zealot* and *free rider* are routinely used in research on groups and participation in groups to describe individuals who, on the one hand, exhibit "an excess of zeal" or, in contrast, who merely "free ride," enjoying benefits from the actions of other group members, while expending little or no personal effort (Coleman 1988a). The logical underlying assumption for group membership is that members will seek opportunities to free ride, maximizing their gain and minimizing expended effort. In developing a rationale for zealot behavior, Coleman uses examples from team sports and from radical political movements (IRA, PLO, etc.) to demonstrate how an organizational structure can either create sufficient encouragement or facilitate adequate forms of recognition and rewards for contributing members to ensure participation and lead to greater collective benefits. In many cases, such structures can also provide greater individual benefits to group members, i.e. increased social capital.

While I found many references to Mormons and numerous articles focusing partially or entirely on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Dunn 1996, McBride 2007, Iannaccone and Stark 1997), I was not as successful in finding articles focusing entirely on Adventists or the Seventh-day Adventist Church, with the exception of an article on the Adventists' NEW START Program, which included additional references to articles concerning the health benefits of the Adventist lifestyle (Slavíček et al. 2008).⁴ I suspect that this apparent increased availability of social science research on Mormons is due, in part, to the churches' relative sizes in North America, where Mormons outnumber Adventists by more than five to one, and, in part, to the existence of a distinct Mormon culture region in the western United States (see Warf and Winsberg 2008; Zelinsky 2001). Nonetheless, in light of the churches' similarities in terms of basic organization, practices and lifestyle (see the discussion in chapter 3 of this thesis), many of the general conclusions of articles focusing on Mormons, particularly those of McBride's club-theory research, can be applied to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, as well as to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Principles of club and game theories, along with insights on free riders and zealots, are very helpful in rationally explaining – at least to the degree that such an explanation is possible –

⁴ The NEW START Program outlines Adventist practices concerning physical and spiritual health and, according to this article, can effectively reduce the risks of cardio-vascular disease (Slavíček et al. 2008)

why people (in this research: Adventists and Mormons) choose to actively participate in groups, and how such participation benefits them more than passive group membership or free-riding would. To summarize:

“...a club’s success depends on a variety of factors, and the potential to produce a high-quality product does not itself guarantee success. A club is more likely to succeed if contributions also yield direct benefits and if it can identify and punish free riders at sufficiently low cost. It can also offer a menu of goods of varying excludability to individualize benefits.” (McBride 2007, p. 402)

It is quite logical to assume that actively participating members of Adventist and Mormon congregations routinely develop high levels of trust with other members of the congregation. Active participants see one another, as well as additional congregation members and even church members from other congregations, more frequently. Within their church community, they share a common worldview, common religious beliefs and practices and are not afraid or ashamed to talk about these views and practices more openly with one another, often developing close friendships. These and other factors can both directly and indirectly affect the amount of social capital available to actively participating members. Social capital is a clear benefit of participation in Adventist and Mormon congregations, wherein the amount of social capital available to a congregation member, in many cases, depends on the level of participation and trust that he or she achieves.

2.3 Social Capital: definitions and debate

Over the past two decades, the concept of social capital has become a popular subject of research throughout the social sciences. This popularity is due, at least in part, to the multitude of somewhat vague, often generalized and occasionally divergent definitions and applications, which surround the term. Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, made the first contemporary analysis of social capital, in 1980; however, his work on the subject received little attention in the English-speaking world, until others, including Loury (1981) and, primarily, Coleman (1988b) began utilizing the term social capital and applying its concepts in their research. (Portes 1998)

In essence, social capital describes “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (Portes 1998, p. 6), and this is how I will use the term for the purposes of this research. Bourdieu explained social capital more elaborately as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, quoted in Portes 1998, p. 3). Similar to other types of capital (physical, financial or human), social capital can be translated into direct benefits for those possessing it. The central distinction is that social capital is derived from connections and interactions with other people, whereas other forms of capital can be acquired and utilized, without outside help.

That said, social capital is also an effective catalyst in the accumulation of other forms of capital (Coleman 1988b). Mohan and Mohan (2002, p. 192, citation and parentheses in original) add that “unlike most other stock resources, it does not wear out with use (Ostrom 2000). Rather it is enhanced by usage (though this does not mean that it cannot be depleted through disuse, misuse or external influence).”

A large portion of the literature devoted to the concept of social capital has focused on its implications in civic engagement (Putnam 1993 and 2000, Strømsnes 2008, Mohan and Mohan 2002, Jančák et al. 2008), sometimes confusing the conceptual boundaries of civic engagement and social capital (Shortall 2008, p. 455):

Civic engagement is not motivated by profit, it can be individual or collective, it can be social or/and political, and it can be goal oriented or an end in itself. Social capital relates to both social inclusion and civic engagement, and Putnam unhelpfully uses social capital and civic engagement interchangeably.

While it is clear that such implications concerning civic engagement not only exist, but are of great interest to political scientists and governments around the world (the same governments which happen to fund a great deal of research into this and related topics), social capital should not be seen as an inexpensive cure-all or a quick-fix in building or re-building better societies (Skocpol 1996).

In addition to overlaps regarding implications for civic engagement, in recent years, many scholars (e.g. Putnam 1993 and 2001, Mohan and Mohan 2002, Strømsnes 2008) have applied social capital to larger groups, seeking to measure it as a possession of entire communities, social networks or even political states (Portes 1998, see also Schnur 2005). While social capital cannot exist without social networks and interpersonal relations, it is theoretically difficult, at best, to apply it to entire groups as a common possession. Referring to Putnam’s views on social capital Portes (1998, p. 19) pointed out a serious deficiency: “As a property of communities and nations rather than individuals, social capital is simultaneously a cause and effect. It leads to positive outcomes, such as economic development and less crime, and its existence is inferred from the same outcomes.”

I prefer Portes’ definition of social capital and the arguments he employs to support it. Consequently, in this research, I will use the term social capital to describe a form of capital possessed solely by individuals. I will examine social groups – in this thesis, religious congregations – as *sources* of, but not as collective possessors of (the same) social capital. I find this to be a better theoretical standpoint, mainly because of the great variance – even within a

very homogenous group, such as a religious congregation – between the amount of social capital available to the various, individual members of a collective.⁵

Instead of focusing on social capital's potential applications, in terms of civic engagement, I take a different approach by viewing social capital as a resource that is available to actively participating members of congregations, a benefit that encourages "religious consumers" to invest in the "religious products" offered by Adventist and Mormon communities in Czechia. In this way, I look at social capital as a factor that could help explain the appeal of these two relatively demanding religious organizations (in terms of the dietary and behavioral restrictions that their members observe and uphold) both to the hundreds of thousands of people worldwide, who join one or the other of these rapidly growing churches, each year,⁶ and to the millions of Adventists and Mormons throughout the world, who routinely devote several hours per week to religious activities, service or church assignments. (see Iannaccone and Stark 1997)

Naturally, social capital can also result in negative consequences. The very nature of social groups denotes the existence of insiders and outsiders. "As Waldinger (1995, p. 557) points out, 'the same social relations that... enhance the ease and efficiency of economic exchanges among community members implicitly restrict outsiders'" (Portes 1998, p. 15, citation included in original). Portes outlines four negative consequences of social capital: the exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms and downward leveling norms. While it is necessary to recognize the existence of these negative aspects of social capital, they will not be sought out or explored in this research. Rather, I will focus on social capital as a potential benefit to actively participating Adventists and Mormons.

To further develop social capital as a motivating factor for religious participation, it is necessary to examine some additional aspects of the concept that will be used in this research, including its different forms and certain methods that have been proposed to measure its availability.

In her research on small-scale enterprise livelihoods in Indonesia, Turner (2007) refers to three distinct types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding social capital is based in

⁵ To illustrate, consider a group of three people A, B and C. If A has a good relationship with B and C and has helped both of them in the past, he would theoretically possess a high level of social capital from this group. On the other hand, if B had only received help from A and never offered help in return and, moreover, if B and C were arguing about something, B would probably not possess the same high level of social capital from group membership as would A.

⁶ For 2007, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reported 372,916 newly baptized members (Statistical Report 2007, 178th Annual General Conference, April 2008, www.lds.org). For the same calendar year, the Seventh-day Adventist Church reported over one million new baptisms or professions of faith and a net increase of 544,541 members (145th Annual Statistical Report-2007).

more homogenous networks and includes membership benefits that encourage group cohesiveness and loyalty. In many cases, bonding social capital effectively discourages participation in alternative social networks. For example, active participation in an Adventist or Mormon congregation effectively precludes membership in another religious congregation, perhaps not in word or by decree, but certainly in the time constraints or the “costs” involved in active participation, as it is collectively understood by Adventists and Mormons (see Iannaccone’s (1997) *Assumption 2* above).⁷ Bridging social capital results from networks, which facilitate relations that intersect different groups. In the case of religious groups, bridging social capital for group members could arise from cooperation with other religious groups or from group involvement in charitable activities, including, for instance, the Adventist Development and Relief Agency or Mormon Helping Hands (www.adra.org, Mormon helping hands 2008). Finally, linking social capital is generated through networks that traverse social and/or economic differences and can provide its possessors with opportunities for upward mobility. It is created through relationships, within a social network or group (e.g. an Adventist or Mormon congregation), which overcome barriers that exist in the broader society, in which the group operates.

In “Placing social capital”, Mohan and Mohan (2002) provide insight into applications of social capital in geography. They examine the concept, reviewing criticisms aimed at its utilization, describe ways it has been studied in geography and provide some possible directions for further geographic inquiries focusing on social capital. They emphasize two major characteristics to be considered, when attempting to measure social capital: trust and participation. In designing and conducting my research, I have focused on trust and participation as the central indicators for measuring the quality of religious congregations as sources of social capital for their members.

Murphy (2006) provides a very good overview of trust, as it applies to economic geography. He utilizes actor-network theory (ANT) and applications of social psychology to demonstrate the importance of trust in negotiations and interpersonal relations and to provide a conceptual framework for studying trust in geography. Murphy distinguishes between micro, meso and macro scales of trust development. The micro level focuses on an individual’s interpretation of her surroundings and the macro level is derived from institutionalized attitudes, which could originate from religious convictions or philosophical values. The meso scale for the development of trust, however, is of greatest interest to this research:

⁷ The way a group collectively perceives “active participation” is very important in the accumulation of social capital at an individual level. If a group member hopes to gain the trust and sympathy of others in the group he or she must participate in a way that is recognized and appreciated by other group members.

“At the meso scale, feelings of trust emerge through face-to-face or person-to-person encounters and on the basis of ascriptions, group memberships, or other characteristics the trusting (distrusting) agent ascribes to or associates with trustworthy (untrustworthy) individuals (e.g. race, religion, or appearance).” (Murphy 2006, p. 440, parentheses in original)

The implications for this research are clear. Not only are group memberships (membership and participation in a congregation) listed as an important ingredient in the development of trust, an individual’s religion is included as an example of other, often significant, characteristics. A religious congregation, i.e. an Adventist or Mormon congregation, represents an incubator of sorts for developing trust and, consequently, relations among congregation members can be expected to exhibit higher levels of trust.

In terms of participation, Shortall (2008, p. 452) states that “participation in social activities, ...belonging, is central to social well-being.” It is clear from the discussion of social capital and theory (including game and club theories), above, that participation is an essential element in developing social capital. Without interactions with others or, to take this further, without active participation in a social network, it is not possible to create social capital from one’s membership in said network. However, Shortall also cites an important counter-argument from Fiorina (1999), who argues that it is not human nature to participate and that many humans choose not to participate. This argument complies with the principles of rational choice theory (i.e. members of congregation choose if and to what level they will participate), through which I intend to examine social capital, as a resource available to members of Adventist and Mormon congregations (on the basis of their active participation).

Table 1 below, from Portes (1998, p. 8), visually depicts the definition of social capital that I will utilize in this research and includes important insights on its sources and consequences. The two broad divisions of sources for social capital, consummatory and instrumental, differ primarily in the core motivation behind the provision of a service, whether it is conformance with norms and obligations (consummatory) or the expectation that some help or advantage will be reciprocated in the future (instrumental). The basic division described above illustrates the respective terms value interjection and reciprocity exchanges from the more specific typology of sources in the second column of Table 1. The concept of bounded solidarity includes consummatory forms of motivation of a slightly different nature and is based on Marxist ideas. Bounded solidarity describes the cohesion that develops within a closed community, i.e. a religious group, as a product of a common fate and mutual understanding. Enforceable trust, on the other (instrumental) hand, references an increased expectation for the reciprocation of a provided service, on the basis of the group context in which it is provided. Essentially, this means that the return on a social capital investment could come from any member of the social group (congregation), in which it was made, and that “the collectivity [congregation] itself acts as a guarantor that whatever debts are incurred will be repaid” (Portes 1998, p. 9; see also

Dunn 1996). It is clear that the concepts of bounded solidarity and enforceable trust apply particularly well to religious communities.

Table 1: Portes' definition of social capital including its primary sources and consequences

<i>Sources:</i>		<i>Definition</i>	<i>Consequences</i>
Consummatory	-Value Interjection	Ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structures	-Norm Observance (social control)
	-Bounded Solidarity		-Family Support -Network-mediated Benefits
Instrumental	-Reciprocity Exchanges	Ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structures	-Restricted Access to Opportunities
	-Enforceable Trust		-Restrictions on Individual Freedom -Excessive Claims on Group Members -Downward Leveling Norms

Source: Portes 1998, p. 8

Table 1 (Portes 1998, p. 8) also provides a good overview of the consequences of social capital, which can, naturally, be both positive and negative. Portes associates the consequences of social capital transactions with the source, from which they arise (horizontal relations in Table 1). For instance, the consequence of value interjection transactions is the observance of social norms. In terms of relations with Adventist and Mormon congregations, I see network-mediated benefits and restricted access to opportunities as the greatest positive consequences of social capital. On the other hand, restrictions on individual freedoms (e.g. observance of moral and health codes, ten commandments, etc.), excessive claims on group members (overwhelming obligations to serve others in the congregation) and perhaps even downward leveling norms could also apply to the congregations in this study.

To reiterate, for the purposes of this research, the term social capital shall be used to describe “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (Portes 1998, p. 6). The close relationships that are routinely formed within Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia appear to create an ideal environment for the social capital transactions described by Portes.

3. A closer look at Adventists and Mormons

The Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints exhibit a number of similarities that make comparison of the two organizations both meaningful and interesting. In terms of worldwide membership in 2007 and the place and time of their origin (see table 1), the churches, indeed, appear very similar. As self-proclaimed Christian churches, Adventists and Mormons also share similar views concerning a number of fundamental beliefs and practices, such as baptism by immersion, only after a candidate has reached a recognizable “age of accountability” (8 years old for Mormons, 12 – 15 for Adventists). Both churches place strong emphasis on maintaining a healthy lifestyle and on strengthening marital and family relations, as well as on sharing their beliefs with others through active evangelizing and missionary programs.

Table 2: Summary of significant similarities between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

	Seventh-day Adventist Church	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Place of establishment	New Hampshire, New York, Vermont and Michigan, USA	New York, USA
Time of establishment	1831 - 1863	1820 - 1830
Worldwide membership 2007	15,660,347*	13,193,999**

* 145th Annual Statistical Report – 2007. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

**Statistical Report: 178th Annual General Conference

In his book *Nová náboženská hnutí a jak jim porozumět [New religious movements and how to comprehend them]*, author Zdeněk Vojtíšek, a researcher whose areas of expertise include new religious movements and the Czech religious scene, describes both of these churches as representative of a so-called “Christianity of the last days.” This is one of three broad divisions that Vojtíšek makes among newer, Protestant Christian churches (the other two divisions are made up of Pentecostal churches and more radical new Christian movements). The distinction denotes an independence from previously established churches and a focus on preparing for Jesus Christ’s return to the earth, as prophesied in scripture (Vojtíšek 2007).

Whether in terms of the Adventist position, advocating a return to thoroughly studying and correctly understanding the Bible as well as their unique role as the “remnant church”, or through Mormon claims of a “divine restoration of truth”, both churches view themselves as the only existing fellowship of *true* followers of Jesus Christ. Over the years, Adventists and Mormons have moderated their positions slightly and both churches are now quick to recognize and respect the good wrought by and the true principles (according to their respective beliefs)

taught by other religious groups, particularly other Christian churches (see www.adventist.org and www.lds.org).

A closer look at the doctrinal beliefs of these churches (e.g. Rosten 1963) reveals that both are indeed not only looking forward to the second coming of Jesus Christ, but also seeking to prepare the world and its inhabitants for this event, through active evangelizing or missionary efforts. Understanding the history and development of the missionary efforts – and successes – of Adventists and Mormons as well as the churches' similar beginnings (in terms of time and place), in nineteenth-century America, is fundamental in evaluating and explaining the global distribution of Adventists and Mormons, today. I will continue by chronologically (Mormons first) describing the origins of the two churches in question. Details concerning missionary efforts and successes will appear, later, alongside data on the contemporary worldwide and European distributions of Adventists and Mormons.⁸

3.1 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

In 1820, religious excitement had reached a fever pitch in rural New York, in an area and time period later described as the “burned-over district,” in reference to the way a surprising variety of religious revivals swept through the area and excited its inhabitants (see Cross 1950).⁹ Joseph Smith, Jr., 14 years old at the time, described the religious excitement as follows:

“Some time in the second year after our removal to Manchester, there was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. It commenced with the Methodists, but soon became general among all the sects in that region of country. Indeed, the whole district of country seemed affected by it, and great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties, which created no small stir and division amongst the people, some crying, ‘Lo, here!’ and others, ‘Lo, there!’ Some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist.

“My mind at times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult were so great and incessant. The Presbyterians were most decided against the Baptists and Methodists, and used all the powers of both reason and sophistry to prove their errors, or, at least, to make the people think they were in error. On the other hand, the Baptists and Methodists in their turn were equally zealous in endeavoring to establish their own tenets and disprove all others (Joseph Smith – History p. 48) .”

Shortly thereafter, Joseph Smith prayed to ask God for direction, concerning which church was the correct one. According to Smith's story and according to the doctrine of the Church of Jesus

⁸ The Jehovah's Witnesses represent another church organization that closely matches these criteria. However, due to difficulties in obtaining statistical data and the somewhat reclusive nature of Jehovah's Witnesses, I have focused entirely on the two churches specified.

⁹ The burned-over district is closely associated with the broader-reaching Second Great Awakening. In addition to a number of diverse religious movements that trace their roots to it, the Second Great Awakening also provided fertile ground for philosophical ideas that led to increased women's rights (Seneca Falls) and the Temperance Movement (see Finseth 1995)

Christ of Latter-day Saints, God the Father and Jesus Christ visited Smith, in a forested area near Palmyra, New York, and called him to be a prophet. They instructed Smith, through many additional revelations, on how to organize, or according to Mormon doctrine: how to restore, the Church of Jesus Christ for a final dispensation that would precede Christ's second coming. Mormons also believe that God instructed Joseph Smith on where to find an ancient record – written on thin metal plates – of a people who lived in the Americas from about 600 B.C. to approximately 400 A.D. These people, who according to Mormon tradition are ancestors both to American Indians and Pacific Islanders, worshipped God in accordance with Jewish traditions before the time of Christ and as Christians afterwards. This record has been published as *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* and Mormons view it as an additional book of scripture, in essence, an equal companion to the *Bible*.

The Book of Mormon was first published in 1827 and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was officially organized with six members on 6 April 1830, in Fayette, New York.

3.2 The Seventh-day Adventist Church

The Adventist movement has its roots in the 1830s and 1840s, mainly in New Hampshire and upstate New York. Preachers and ministers from several contemporary, Christian churches contributed to the emergence of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as we know it today. They rallied around theological ideas, surrounding the imminent return of Jesus Christ (“the literal soon advent of Christ”) to the earth and the importance of studying and comprehending the Bible. (http://www.adventist.org/world_church/facts_and_figures/history/index.html.en)

One of the central figures in Adventism's “genesis” story is William Miller. Miller, a veteran of the War of 1812, began to study the Bible in depth to put to rest certain concerns he had with what others called contradictions within the Bible itself. Eventually, he resolved all of his concerns and in doing so became very interested in Biblical prophecies, specifically from Old Testament prophet Daniel, concerning Christ's return to the earth. He spent considerable time calculating the date of Jesus Christ's “second coming.” His friends became interested in his studies and encouraged him to preach and proclaim this message to others. Miller began preaching in 1831 and with the help of Joshua Himes, a preacher who acted as something of a public relations specialist, he soon generated a following, known as Millerites. The Millerites enthusiastically expected Jesus Christ to return to earth in glory, sometime during 1843. This expected time of arrival was later adjusted to the Spring of 1844 and finally to October 22, 1844. (Vandeman 1986; see also: <http://www.whiteestate.org/pathways/pioneers.asp>)

A “great disappointment” resulted when Jesus Christ did not return to earth and the Millerites along with other Adventists (at this time, a general term for believers from many faiths including Baptists, Presbyterians, etc.) returned to diligently studying the Bible and preparing

for Christ's return, without necessarily setting a date for this anticipated event. The preachers and members of several congregations – mainly from various Baptist churches and the Christian Connection Church – continued calling themselves “Adventist” and by 1863, when the Seventh-day Adventist Church was officially organized, it included approximately 3,500 members and 125 churches. (http://www.adventist.org/world_church/facts_and_figures/history/index.html.en)

Ellen White, whom Adventists recognize as one who had a prophetic gift, was another important figure in the development of Adventism. White attended William Miller's sermons and became converted to the principles he advocated. After the great disappointment discussed above, she played a significant leadership role in keeping the Adventist movement alive. In particular, White was a central figure in the decision to worship on Saturday and not Sunday. Similar to Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, Ellen White also claimed to receive special communications from God for a larger community of believers. She wrote many books, focusing special attention on health and harmony in life, principles that are fundamental to modern Adventism. (<http://www.whiteestate.org>)

4. The distribution and position of Adventists and Mormons

4.1 International comparisons in distribution

One relationship that caught my attention, during the preliminary stages of this research, was the similarity in worldwide membership counts of Adventists (approx. 16 million) and Mormons (approx. 13 million), especially when contrasted with the disparity of the numbers of Adventists and Mormons in Czechia. Certain interesting questions arise out of this disparity. For instance, what regional patterns exist in the country membership totals of these churches, how can such differences be explained and what other inferences can be drawn from the observed patterns?

In light of their similar beginnings – in terms of time and location – and based on the rational choice theory of economics as applied to religious organizations (see Iannaccone 1998), I propose something of a null hypothesis:

- All other factors being equal, it is supposed that the modern-day global distribution of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints – the result of processes of diffusion of the religious “product” of the respective churches – will be identical.

I realize that such a hypothesis seems more than a little absurd and I intentionally include the words “all other factors being equal”, knowing that such is not the case. The message of the respective churches differs, as do the personalities, attitudes and preferences both of those sharing the message and any who would potentially accept it. Nonetheless, this null hypothesis provides a basis for further examination and explanation of global and regional distributions of Adventists and Mormons in 2007. A significant portion of the explanation of the data and maps presented shall focus on the reality that “all other factors” are not equal and that strong personalities, leaders, administrative decisions and societal attitudes, among other factors, have played and continue to play important roles in the diffusion of Adventism and Mormonism.

4.1.1 Mapping methods and discoveries

Recently Michael Gastner and Mark Newman described a “diffusion-based method for producing density-equalizing maps”, which distorts the size of various territories in a region to compare a given quantitative variable from territory to territory. In essence, the method is based on the physical principle of linear diffusion and changes the size of each defined territory on a map, on the basis of the value of a selected variable. (Gastner and Newman 2004; Barford and Dorling 2007)

With membership data for 2007, provided by the Adventist and Mormon churches themselves, and population estimates for 2007 from the World CIA Factbook, I have utilized this method to generate cartograms that show relationships concerning total population, Adventist population and Mormon population among the various countries of the world. In looking at these cartograms it is helpful to remember that countries, which appear abnormally large, exhibit a relatively high level of the variable being tested, while countries, appearing smaller than they normally would, are home to a relatively low level of the variable in question.

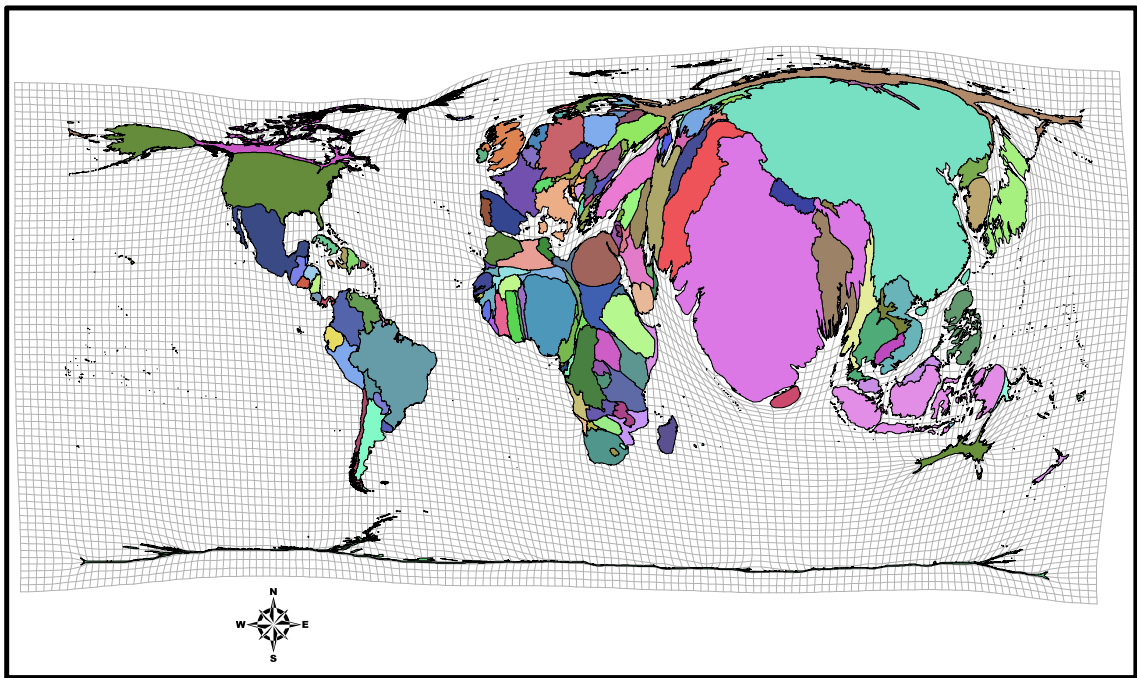


Figure 1: World population estimates for 2007 by country (source: CIA World Factbook)

It is also important to note that the relative size of any given territory can only be effectively compared with other territories in the same cartogram. Comparisons between different cartograms are useful in recognizing and contrasting the spatial patterns of the various variables independently, but should not be considered reliable in assessing or comparing the actual values of the variables examined in the different cartograms. For example, the size of Czechia in Figure 1, which represents total population by country, represents over ten million people, while Czechia's size in the Adventist cartogram (Figure 2), even though it is larger, represents only 7555 people.

With these principles in mind, the cartograms become an interesting tool in visualizing and comparing present distributions and considering the historic diffusion of Adventism and Mormonism (Figures 2 and 3), on a global level, in light of total population (Figure 1).

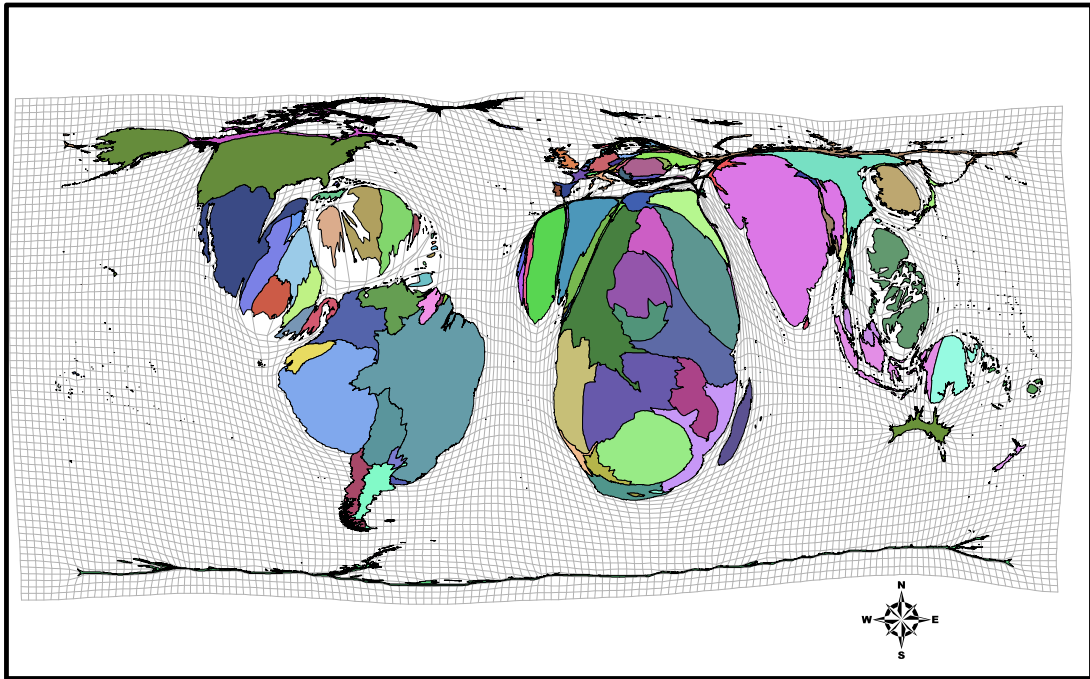


Figure 2: Membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church by country 2007 (source: 145th Annual Statistical Report – 2007)

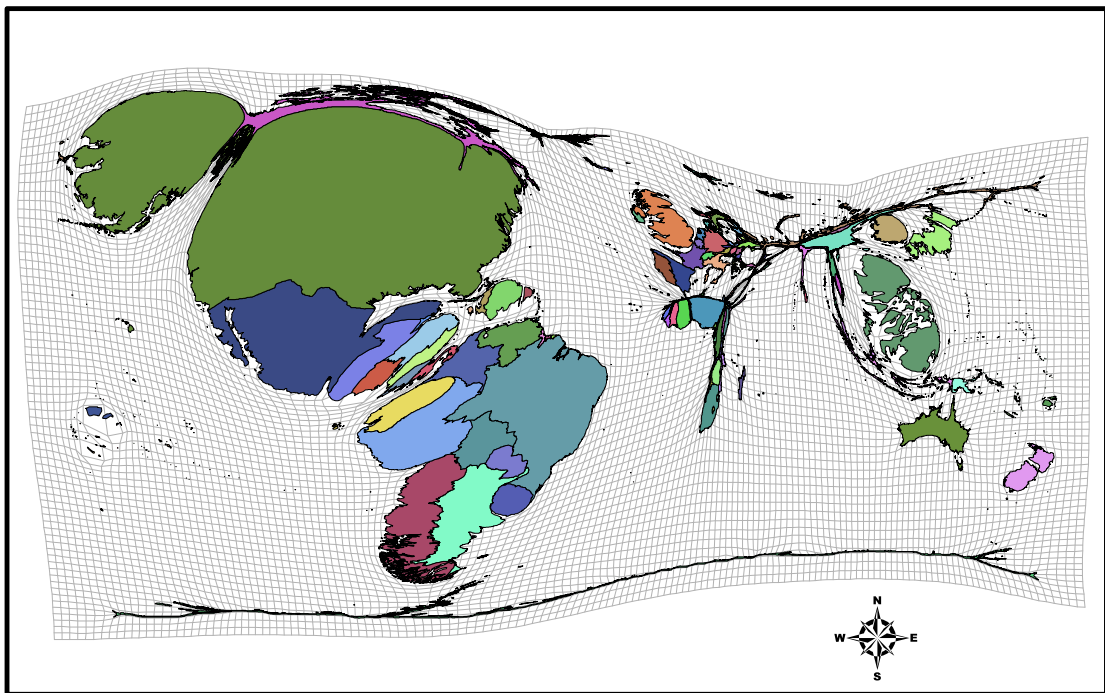


Figure 3: Membership in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by country 2007 (Source: www.newsroom.lds.org)

While it can be said of both of these churches that they are international organizations, it is very clear from these cartograms (see Figures 2, 3 and 4) that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has a more balanced international membership than does the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Adventists have spread into Africa, India, Central Asia and the Caribbean to a significantly higher degree than Mormons, who, in contrast, have a stronger relative position in several countries in North and South America, the Pacific Ocean and Western Europe. In general, the global distribution of Mormons seems to more closely resemble a contact diffusion model, radiating out from the organization's headquarters in Utah. This trend is even more evident if membership data for the individual states of the United States of America are viewed separately. Both Utah (1,823,613 Mormons) and California (749,490 Mormons) would rank among the top five political territories, in terms of overall membership (see Table 3).

Table 3: Largest Adventist and Mormon populations by country 2007

Largest populations of Adventists by country			Largest populations of Mormons by country		
Country	Adventists	Percent of total church membership	Country	Mormons	Percent of total church membership
India	1,339,606	9%	United States	5,873,478	45%
Brazil	1,331,282	9%	Mexico	1,121,893	9%
United States	1,000,578	6%	Brazil	1,019,153	8%
Peru	769,980	5%	Philippines	594,655	5%
Kenya	609,934	4%	Chile	548,743	4%

Source: 145th Annual Statistical Report – 2007 and www.newsroom.lds.org

Table 3 lists the largest five countries, in terms of numbers of Adventists and Mormons, along with the portion of all adherents (worldwide) to the two respective churches, residing in each of these countries. The dominance of the United States of America, for instance, as a center for Mormonism is clearly evident in its 45% share in the church's overall membership. Adventists on the other hand are more evenly distributed internationally with India, Brazil and the USA exhibiting relatively similar total numbers of Adventists. It is interesting to note the appearance of the USA and, more especially, Brazil in each of the churches' top five lists.

Figure 4 shows the portions of total church membership of the two respective churches living in six large regions of the world. The West Asia region, regardless of the fact that it is the smallest of the six regions, is noticeably absent from both pie charts. This is, of course, due to the dominant position of Islam in the countries of this region and the general tension between Islam and Christianity. Many predominantly Muslim countries completely prohibit Christian missionary organizations from operating within their borders and societal pressures effectively limit Christian inroads in areas, where Christian missionary work is not prohibited.

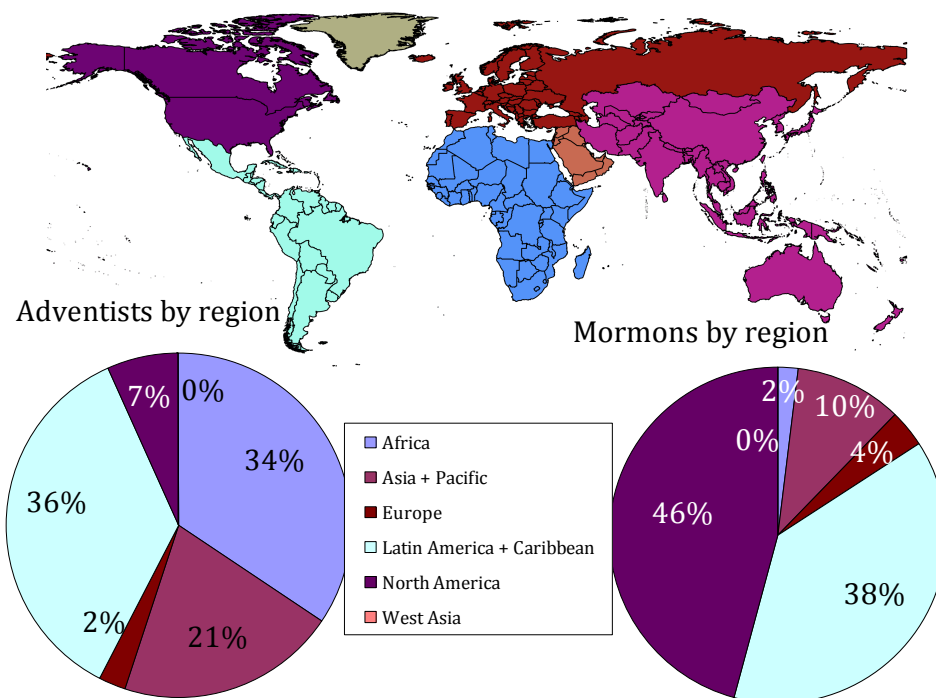


Figure 4: Adventists and Mormons by world region – percentages reflect the portion of the overall memberships of the respective churches living in the indicated regions (source 145th Annual Statistical Report – 2007 and www.newsroom.lds.org)

Both Adventists and Mormons have been very active in seeking converts from the beginnings of their respective movements. Consequently, understanding the history of missionary work within the two churches, especially any unique restrictions, strategies or advantages in spreading their missionary messages, is very helpful in explaining the present-day distribution expressed above (Figures 2, 3 and 4).

4.1.2 Rapid worldwide expansion of Adventists

Missionaries were spreading the message of Adventism even before the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists was officially founded in 1863. As early as 1864, Michael Belina Czechowski, previously a Catholic minister, was already preaching Seventh-day Adventism in Europe (Drejnar 2008). The first official missionary was sent abroad – to Switzerland – in 1874.

In general, it can be said that Adventist missionary efforts focused, and continue to focus, on people throughout the world, regardless of race, religion or socioeconomic status. It appears, however, that over time, Adventist missionaries found more success and, consequently, expended more effort among populations of economically disadvantaged people, especially in less developed areas. The cartogram in Figure 2 and the pie chart in Figure 4 both corroborate this statement.

While the reasons for developments, leading to the present-day distribution of Adventists, are somewhat difficult to pinpoint, a possible explanation could be the humanitarian service of

Adventist missionaries and the church's focus on development and aid programs. The Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA, see www.adra.org) is the Seventh-day Adventist Church's flagship organization in providing such assistance. ADRA is a modern manifestation of the church's history of offering aid and education to diverse populations.

One of the first steps that Adventist missionaries took when settling into many of the countries they entered, especially in underdeveloped regions, was the establishment of schools. These included elementary schools, schools for girls, schools for boys, intermediate or secondary schools and, as Adventist presence grew, even colleges and universities. To illustrate, in 1900 at the leading edge of several decades of rapid missionary expansion, the church operated 220 primary schools. By 1930, the number of Adventist primary schools had increased to 2077; by 1950, to 4277 (145th Annual Statistical Report-2007).

Adventist missionary efforts in Papua New Guinea followed this school establishment model. In 1908, not long after initiating missionary work in the country on a permanent basis, a plantation with an accompanying school was founded. As the local people became aware of these missionaries and saw the benefits the school provided, they gradually became interested in having a second Adventist school. In spite of – or, perhaps, because of – these slow beginnings, from 1928 to 1934, Adventists saw rapid growth through the establishment of schools. In 1934, there were still less than 50 baptized members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church among Papua New Guineans. Seeds planted through the operating schools, however, soon bore fruit and, in 1940, there were more than 2000 Adventists in Papua New Guinea. Growth continued, both in terms of church membership and schools. In 1984, Pacific Adventist University was established in New Guinea as a college; it acquired university status in 1997. (<http://adventist.org.au>) At the end of 2007, Adventist church membership in Papua New Guinea stood at 237,220, representing more than four percent of the country's total population (145th Annual Statistical Report-2007).

New Guinea is only one example from many. Adventist missionaries were very quick to spread, quite literally “into all the world”(Holy Bible, Luke 16:15), with their message. After Europe, they entered Australia and several Pacific island nations in the 1880's; Russia, in 1886; India, in 1893; Western and Southern Africa, in 1894; and China and Japan, in 1896. By the end of the nineteenth century, congregations had been established in many countries and the movement was quickly becoming a worldwide church. (www.adventist.org.in, <http://adventist.org.au>, www.adventist.org)

Early successes of Adventist missionaries in establishing congregations and encouraging growth in both China and India have had far-reaching effects. By 1949, when the Communist Party of China established the People's Republic of China and officially outlawed the Seventh-day Adventist Church, there were more than 23,000 Adventists in China. This foundation

allowed the church to maintain an underground organization and, as of 2005, more than 300,000 Adventists were reported to live in China. Similarly, in India, the Adventist Church was able to grow enough among the native population, especially early in the 1900s, before India became independent from British rule, to weather significant opposition from the Hindu majority and to continue to grow in recent years. (Land 2005)

To understand the global distribution of Adventists today, it is necessary to take the organizational structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church into consideration. The following brief outline is published on the worldwide church's official website (http://www.adventist.org/world_church/facts_and_figures/structure/index.html.en):

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is organized with a representative form of church government. This means authority in the Church comes from the membership of local churches. Executive responsibility is given to representative bodies and officers to govern the Church. Four levels of Church structure lead from the individual believer to the worldwide Church organization:

1. The local church made up of individual believers
2. The local conference, or local field/mission, made up of a number of local churches in a state, province, or territory
3. The union conference, or union field/mission, made up of conferences or fields within a larger territory (often a grouping of states or a whole country)
4. The General Conference represents the worldwide expression of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Its constituent membership is defined in the Constitution of the General Conference. To facilitate its worldwide activity, the General Conference has established regional offices, known as divisions of the General Conference, which have been assigned, by action of the General Conference Executive Committee at Annual Councils, general administrative oversight responsibilities for designated groups of unions and other church units within specific geographical areas.

Each level is "representative," that is it reflects a democratic process of formation and election. Local churches elect their own officers and church boards by majority voting. Churches elect delegates to the conferences which meet "in session" every two or three years. Executive authority between sessions is exercised by the Conference Executive Committee and the executive officers (normally President, Secretary and Treasurer), all of whom are elected by the session.

All three of these sub-international levels of Adventist organization (levels 1-3 above) are present in Czechia, or rather in Czecho-Slovakia. The Czecho-Slovakian Union Conference (level 3) is divided into three conferences, two of which – the Bohemian Conference and the Moravia-Silesian Conference (level 2) – comprise the present territory of Czechia.

From my own observations, it appears that Adventist congregations in Czechia have relatively more local autonomy (i.e. less centrally applied leadership) than comparable congregations of Mormons in Czechia (see the discussion below on the organizational structure of the LDS

Church). This higher degree of local autonomy – expressed primarily through less emphasis on vertical communication and coordination within the organization – could help explain the more globally dispersed and less-concentric distribution of Adventists, in comparison with the distribution of Mormons.

4.1.3 Mormon Zionism and its concentric legacy

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was also quick to begin spreading its missionary message. The earliest missionary efforts focused on the United States and the British Isles and the cartogram in Figure 3 shows that this early focus is still reflected in current membership rates. Mormon missionary work soon expanded into other parts of Europe; however, during these early years the message of Mormonism included a call to “gather to Zion.” With a doctrine-based practice that lends itself to comparison with Jewish Zionism, new converts to the Church of Jesus Christ were encouraged to immigrate to the United States to join with other Mormons in building a “New Jerusalem” on the American Continent (The Articles of Faith, no. 10). This practice played a significant role in Mormon history and in the subsequent development and diffusion of the church. (*Our Heritage: A Brief History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 1996)

Their strong sense of community combined with this doctrine of gathering only encouraged the suspicion and enmity that Mormons were already facing from their neighbors, due to their position as a new and different religious movement. They resettled *en masse* to Kirtland, Ohio (near Cleveland) in the early 1830s, from where they were “encouraged” to move on, settling in Missouri. By 1838, Mormons’ Missouri neighbors decided they had had enough and they forcefully expelled the church and its members – with their governor’s blessing – from the state of Missouri. Throughout these difficult times, new converts to Mormonism, from other states in America as well as from Western and Northern Europe, continued to migrate to join with their fellow “Saints”¹⁰, wherever they happened to be. (*Our Heritage* 1996)

After Missouri, the Mormons established the city of Nauvoo on a bend in the Mississippi River. This city held the distinction of being the largest city in Illinois for a time, before Chicago experienced its booming growth. It was not long, however, before surrounding communities in Illinois expressed their opposition to the growing Mormon presence, which by this time possessed considerable – and growing – political power and societal influence. In June 1844, an armed mob murdered Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in a Carthage, Illinois jailhouse, where they were awaiting trial on trumped up charges. By February 1846, most Mormons had been forced out of (or had promised to soon leave) Illinois and they began making their way

¹⁰ Mormons refer to themselves as “Latter-day Saints” or simply as “Saints” in reference to their desire to follow the teachings and example of Jesus Christ in modern times.

west, in search of a place, where they could establish themselves permanently and peacefully. They chose to make the Salt Lake Valley at the foot of the Wasatch Mountains, in what is now Utah, the center of their “Zion” and, consequently, the target for a growing number of Mormon immigrants, primarily from the eastern United States and from Europe. (*Our Heritage* 1996)

In 1911, the First Presidency, the supreme governing body of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, issued the following proclamation. “It is desirable that our people shall remain in their native lands and form congregations of a permanent character to aid in the work of proselyting.” (*Our Heritage* 1996, p 105) This marked a turning point in the diffusion of Mormonism and the development of the global distribution of Mormons. While it is true that not all Mormons relocated to the American West, previous to this proclamation, the fact that many did is well documented (see *Our Heritage*) and helps explain the global distribution of Mormons, as portrayed in figure 3. The cartogram shows a clear dominance, centered around the United States.

As described above Mormons believe in *The Book of Mormon* as an additional book of scripture, which contains the writings of prophets who lived in the Americas for several hundred years before and after the birth of Jesus Christ. The book also records a visit that Christ himself made to these people in the Americas, after his death and resurrection in Jerusalem. This focus on America (both North and South America) as a “second holy land” could conceivably contribute to the popularity of the Mormon message in the Western Hemisphere, especially among Native Americans and Pacific Islanders, who, according to Mormon tradition, represent the descendents of the groups of people described in *The Book of Mormon*.

Another factor, effecting the establishment of Mormonism worldwide, arose out of a restriction concerning those who could hold the priesthood and, thereby, officiate in church ordinances and fill leadership roles. It was not until 1978 that the privilege of holding the priesthood was extended to “every faithful, worthy man in the Church” of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (*Doctrine and Covenants* p. 294). Previous to this official declaration from the First Presidency, men of African decent had not been eligible to hold the priesthood, a restriction that had made missionary work throughout most of Africa impractical, at best. While significant growth in the number of Mormons in Africa has happened since 1978, the effects of this later start can be seen in Figure 3.

Additional interesting characteristics that have played (and continue to play) a significant role in the way Mormonism has spread include the unique Mormon missionary program and the centralized organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Young Mormons, primarily between the ages of 19 and 25 years of age, are strongly encouraged to serve as full-time missionaries. Interested, eligible individuals fill in a paper application and go through an interview process with local Mormon leaders. Application materials are then sent to church

headquarters in Salt Lake City and within a matter of weeks a “mission call” is issued. In 1997, for example, I completed this process and received a “mission call” to serve for two years in the Czech Prague Mission, which includes all of Czechia and Slovakia. Mormons view these mission calls as the result of divine inspiration channeled through the leaders responsible for deciding where prospective missionaries will serve. Mormon missionaries always work in pairs and wear black nametags. Their primary objective is provide others with an opportunity to learn about the “message of the restoration”, which in essence is based upon Joseph Smith’s role as a “modern prophet”, the Book of Mormon as a book of scripture and the existence of a living prophet today. These missionaries generally serve for eighteen months or two years and pay their own way.¹¹

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is also characterized by its centralized organizational scheme, with a structured hierarchy leading up to the president of the church, who along with his two counselors, comprise the First Presidency. According to Mormon beliefs, the president of the church is a prophet, receiving guidance and inspiration, concerning how to direct the Church of Jesus Christ, from Christ himself. In addition to these three men (the First Presidency), Mormons look to a Quorum of Twelve Apostles – twelve other men, “called” by inspiration to serve as Apostles until they die – for what they view as inspired leadership for the entire world. Moving down the vertical structure, Mormons also receive guidance from five Quorums of “Seventies” – general and regional authorities – and, ultimately, from local leaders.

Among other things, this organization means that significant vertical relations exist to monitor both compliance with central directives and consistency concerning the doctrines and practices emphasized throughout the global Mormon organization. The church’s missionary program facilitates ongoing exchanges and interactions between lay members and full-time missionaries from diverse parts of the world (especially from areas that are home to many Mormons, i.e. North America), further encouraging feelings of cross-cultural unity and consistent group practices and behaviors. It is clear that these two additional characteristics of the Mormon faith – its central organization scheme and its missionary program – contribute to a high degree of acculturation, which naturally contributes to the creation of social capital, especially through bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, as described above (see Table 1 and the discussion of social capital).

¹¹ A standardized monthly payment (approximately 400 USD), in the name of the missionary, is made to a central missionary fund that covers missionaries throughout the world. Regional cost differences are then balanced out as these funds are redistributed to the individual missionaries.

4.2 Position of Adventists and Mormons in national societies: European comparisons

Another way to examine the distribution of Adventists and Mormons is to look at the position of the two respective churches, in terms of the portion of a political state's population that is comprised of Adventists or Mormons, respectively. Using the same data as above (provided by the two churches in question and by the CIA World Factbook), I have calculated the percent of national populations that are, respectively, Adventist and Mormon. I will refer to this statistic as a measure of the position of the two respective churches in various national and regional societies. I will briefly discuss global data on the societal position of these churches, before focusing on comparisons within Europe and, ultimately, within Czechia.

Interestingly, both churches have significantly strong positions on several islands (for Mormons the highest percentages are located in the South Pacific, for Adventists in the Caribbean Sea), where total populations are often quite small. Tables 4 and 5 show the ten highest overall national percentages, respectively, of Adventists and Mormons, along with total country populations (which are, for the most part, quite small).

Table 4: Ten highest percentages of Adventists within total country populations

COUNTRY	REGION	POPULATION	ADVENTIST	%
Pitcairn Island	South Pacific	48	22	45.83
Grenada	Caribbean	89971	12369	13.75
Montserrat	Caribbean	9538	1159	12.15
Antigua and	Caribbean	69481	7927	11.41
St. Vincent and G.	Caribbean	118149	13296	11.25
Belize	Meso America	294385	31215	10.60
Dominica	Caribbean	72386	6543	9.04
Saint Lucia	Caribbean	170649	14629	8.57
Jamaica	Caribbean	2780132	229595	8.26
Cayman Islands	Caribbean	46600	3692	7.92

Source: 145th Annual Statistical Report – 2007, CIA World Factbook

Table 5: Ten highest percentages of Mormons within total country populations

COUNTRY	REGION	POPULATION	MORMON	%
Tonga	South Pacific	116921	54281	46.43
Samoa	South Pacific	214265	66249	30.92
American Samoa	South Pacific	57663	14514	25.17
Niue	South Pacific	1492	253	16.96
Kiribati	South Pacific	107817	12446	11.54
Cook Islands	South Pacific	21750	1803	8.29
Marshall Islands	South Pacific	61815	4623	7.48
French Polynesia	South Pacific	278963	19711	7.07
Micronesia	South Pacific	107862	3754	3.48
Chile	South America	16284741	548743	3.37

Source: www.newsroom.lds.com, CIA World Factbook

Tables 6 and 7 portray the same indicator of position in given national societies, for the highest ten countries for the two respective churches, after removing all countries with less than one million inhabitants. Considering these larger populations, a concentration of Adventists in parts of Africa and South America, in addition to the Caribbean, becomes evident. Countries in the Americas – both North and South America – dominate the list of large Mormon percentages.

Table 6: Ten highest percentages of Adventists within total country populations for countries with more than one million inhabitants

COUNTRY	REGION	POPULATION	ADVENTIST	%
Jamaica	Caribbean	2780132	229595	8.26
Trinidad and	Caribbean	1056608	61273	5.80
Zambia	Southern Africa	11477447	567881	4.95
Zimbabwe	Southern Africa	12311143	534801	4.34
Rwanda	Eastern Africa	9907509	423358	4.27
Papua New Guinea	South Pacific	5795887	237220	4.09
Haiti	Caribbean	8706497	315538	3.62
Peru	South America	28674757	769980	2.69
Angola	Southern Africa	12263596	327078	2.67
Dominican Republic	Caribbean	9365818	242084	2.58

Source: 145th Annual Statistical Report – 2007, CIA World Factbook

Table 7: Ten highest percentages of Mormons within total country populations for countries with more than one million inhabitants

COUNTRY	REGION	POPULATION	MORMON	%
Chile	South America	16284741	548743	3.37
USA	North America	301139947	5873408	1.95
Bolivia	South America	9119152	158427	1.74
Honduras	Meso America	7483763	125606	1.68
Guatemala	Meso America	12728111	210101	1.65
Peru	South America	28674757	448903	1.57
El Salvador	Meso America	6948073	98575	1.42
Ecuador	South America	13755680	181463	1.32
Panama	Meso America	3242173	42606	1.31
Domin. Republic	Caribbean	9365818	106243	1.13

Source: www.newsroom.lds.com, CIA World Factbook

4.2.1 Adventists in the East

Figure 5 displays regional differences in the position of Adventists in the national societies of Europe. Countries are divided into quintiles, meaning that there should be an equal number of countries (approximately five) in each of the seven categories. Shades of red represent higher than average values, while shades of blue show values that are lower than average and the off-white color represents near average levels. High percentages and high numbers of Adventists are found, particularly, in Romania, Moldova and Ukraine and a general east-to-west trend can be seen, with higher percentages of Adventists in the East and gradually lower percentages –

with exceptions – in the West. Czechia (0.074%), which stands out on this map as a member of the second quintile, has a noticeably larger share of Adventists than all of its bordering countries (Austria with 0.047% is closest).

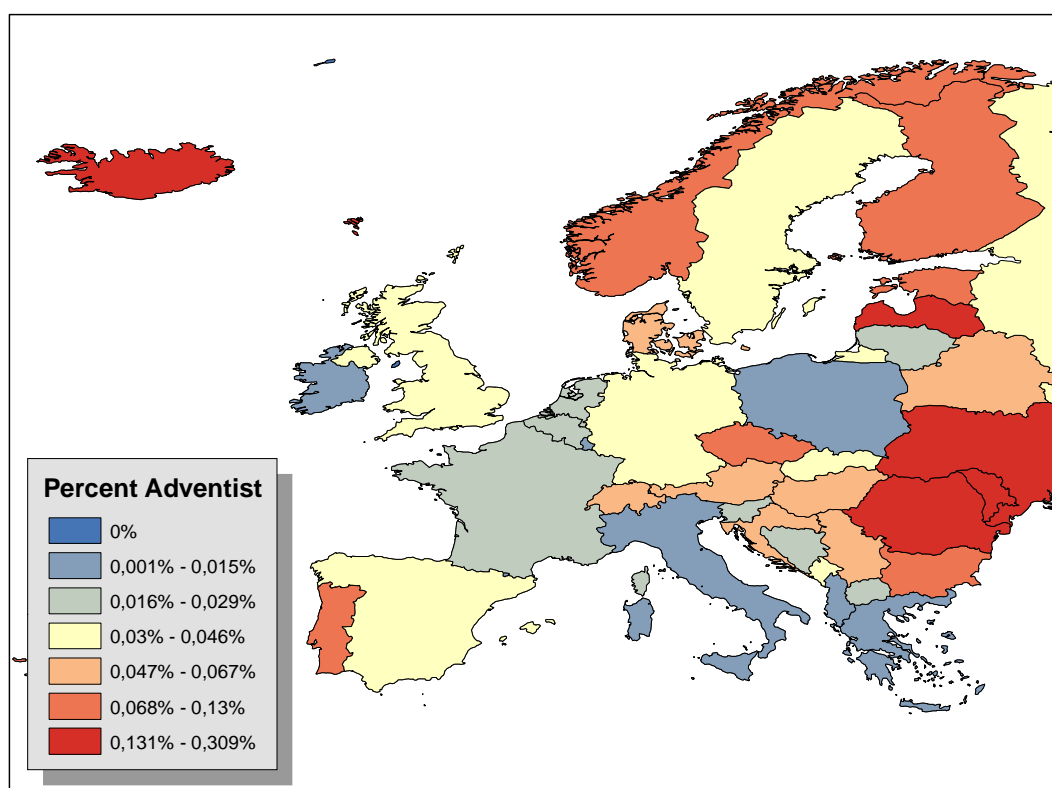


Figure 5: Adventists as a percent of European state populations 2007 (source: 145th Annual Statistical report-2007 and the CIA World Factbook)

The strong presence and activity of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Romania, Moldova and Ukraine appears to support the claim that Adventist missionary efforts are successful and, consequently, seem to focus on populations and groups that need humanitarian assistance. For 2007, the CIA World Fact Book listed these three countries among the lowest in Europe in terms of GDP per capita. Moldova was the absolute lowest in Europe, ranking 125th in the world, while Ukraine at 88th in the world was second lowest (excluding the Caucasus Mountain states) and Romania exhibited Europe's seventh lowest GDP per capita (again, excluding the Caucasus Mountain states) with a world ranking of 71.¹²

With a simple Google search, I found a number of ADRA projects that focused on Romania and Ukraine, in recent years. An Adventist youth group from Scotland, for example, has made multiple trips to Romania during summer vacations to build houses for impoverished families

¹² These values and rankings differ significantly depending on what organization gathered the information. Wikipedia.org has a nice comparison of IMF, World Bank and CIA data on GDP per capita (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_European_countries_by_GDP_per_capita).

(<http://www.sdascotland.com/main/>). Another Adventist group, this one from Moravia in the Czech Republic, recently completed a project entitled *Úsměv pro Ukrajinu* [*A Smile for Ukraine*]. The project focused on the region surrounding the Romania-Ukraine border, including general repairs to a local school and a variety of other acts of service. (<http://www.dcvn.cz/archiv/ukrajina-rumunsko07.htm>)

In addition to its focus on humanitarian service, the Seventh-day Adventist Church also has a long history in Eastern Europe. Adventist missionaries entered Romania in 1868 and Ukraine in 1886. In Romania, there were enough Adventists by 1928 that the Romanian Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists received state recognition. At the beginning of World War II, there were about 13,000 Adventists in Romania. This created a strong enough base that the church was able to continue its activities, with restrictions, through the decades of communist control, entering the 1990s with a foundation and momentum to support rapid post-socialist growth.

4.2.2 Mormons in the West

The United Kingdom, Portugal and Spain stand out in Figure 6, which displays quantiles of the percentages of Mormons in European country populations. A general west to east trend of

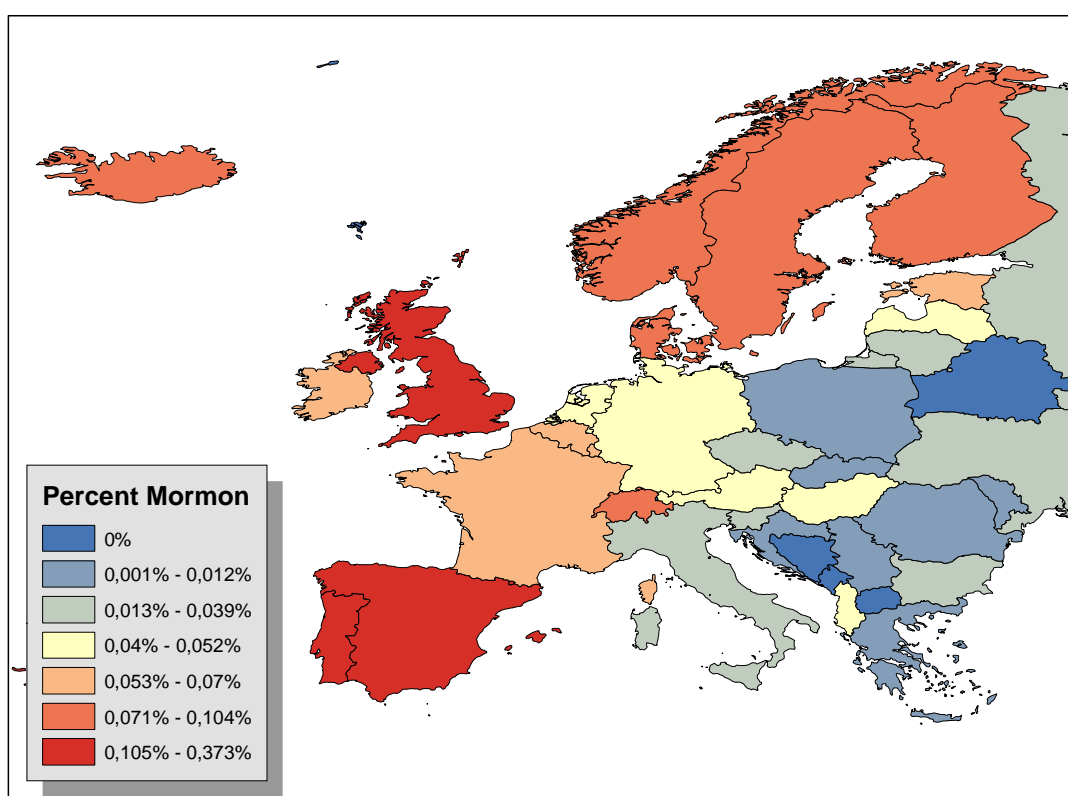


Figure 6: Mormons as a percent of European state populations, 2007 (source: www.newsroom.lds.org and the CIA World Factbook)

higher to lower population ratios is visible, supporting – at least generally – the idea of a concentric distribution of Mormons centered on the American West. Czechia appears to follow

this trend as an intermediary step between Germany and Austria to the west and Poland and Slovakia to the east. Hungary and Albania stand out in Figure 6 with relatively higher portions of Mormons than their neighboring countries.

Mormon missionaries arrived in England in 1837 and by 1850 they had also entered Scandinavia, France and Germany. These missionaries found success, particularly in England, but, for several decades to follow, a large portion of Mormon converts emigrated to join with the Mormons in America (*Our Heritage*). There are estimates that more than 100,000 Mormons emigrated from the United Kingdom to America from 1837 to 1900. In 1870, British immigrants accounted for nearly half of the population of Utah (www.newsroom.lds.org). As noted earlier, this call to migrate to “Zion” was officially ended in 1911, and from that time, numbers of Mormons in England and elsewhere have increased more consistently.

Mormon temples¹³ were opened in 1955 and 1958, respectively, in Switzerland and in London, England, representing two of the first such temples to be built outside of North America (www.lds.org/temples). In general, a chronological list of Mormon temples is very useful in telling the story of Mormon diffusion, and the opening of these temples in Europe, shows the early emphasis on – and the resulting successes – of Mormon missionary efforts in Europe (<http://www.lds.org/temples/chronological/0,11206,1900-1,00.html>).

It is clear that the simplistic null-hypothesis that I proposed above can be rejected. Significant regional differences exist both the distribution of Adventists and Mormons throughout the world, as well as in the portions of adherents to the two churches in diverse countries and regions.

¹³ A Mormon temple is a unique place, where Mormons participate in sacred ordinances and worship. After a temple has been completed and dedicated, only members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who hold a temple recommend, certifying that they are living in compliance with the teachings of the church, are allowed to enter.

4.3 Distribution and position in Czechia

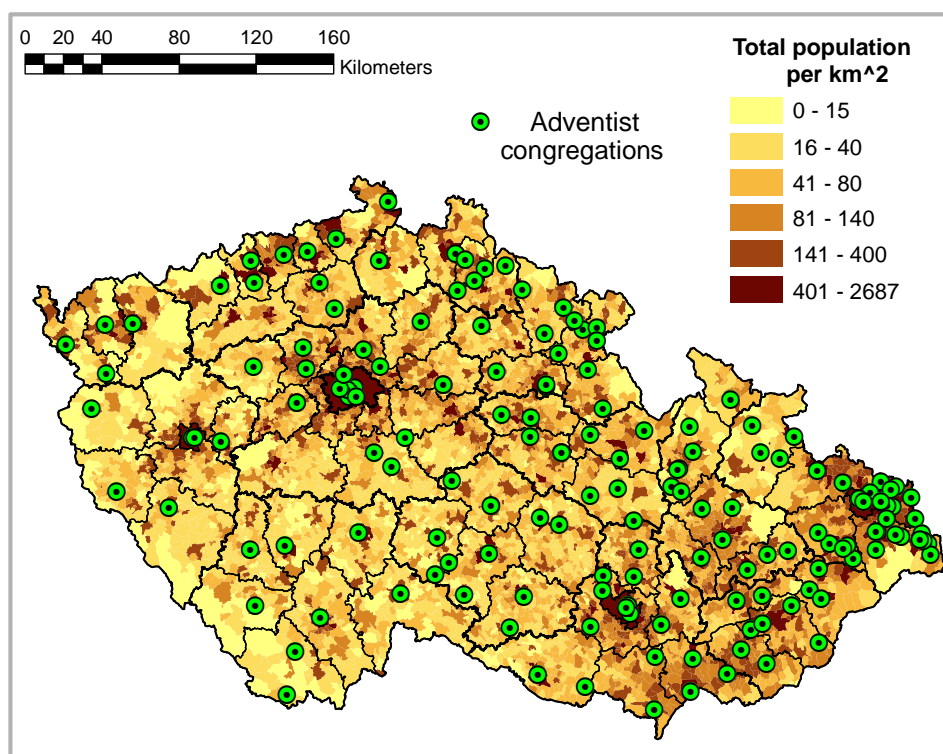


Figure 7: Adventist congregations in Czechia in relation to the overall population density by municipality (source: Czech Population and Housing Census 2001)

Figures 7 and 8 show the distribution of Adventist and Mormon congregations within Czechia. The background layer of both maps depicts the overall population density per square kilometer, calculated by municipality. It is immediately clear that, in Czechia, Adventists and Mormons have significantly differing scales of operation. While there are 170 congregations (both churches – larger congregations, and groups – smaller) of Adventists in Czechia, there are only 13 Mormon branches (a smaller organizational division than the traditional, Mormon ward). Adventist congregations are found in all of the regional and nearly all of the district capital cities, in many other local centers, and even in a number of smaller towns and municipalities, especially in Moravia and Silesia. Mormon congregations exist in all the regional capital cities, with three exceptions (regional capitals Karlovy Vary, Ústí nad Labem and Pardubice do not have Mormon congregations) and they are also located in three smaller towns, all of which act as local centers on a smaller scale.

The map of Adventist congregations (Figure 7) shows a very strong cluster in Silesia surrounding Ostrava, Frýdek-Místek and Třinec. There are interesting historical circumstances which, at least partially, explain the existence of this higher concentration of Adventists. From 1952 until 1956 the Seventh-day Adventist Church was completely outlawed by the

Czechoslovak socialist regime. As a result, all activities of the church became illegal and its property was confiscated. Many Adventists were persecuted for their attempts to observe the Sabbath, by not working on Saturday. Others, however, chose to move to highly-industrialized and quickly-growing cities in Silesia – which in many cases already had a relatively long history of Adventist activity – where they could work difficult, labor-intensive jobs (coal mines, steel mills, etc.) that would afford them extra benefits, i.e. not having to work on Saturday. (Hrdinka, interview with author)

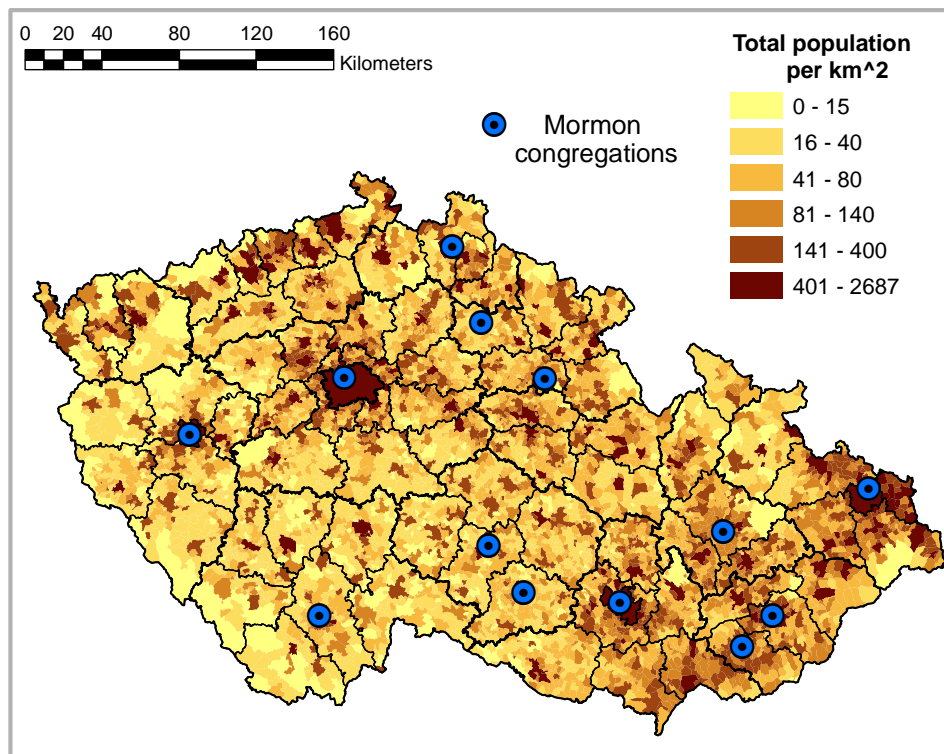


Figure 8: Mormon congregations in Czechia in relation to the overall population density by municipality (source: Czech Population and Housing Census 2001)

Generally speaking, the distribution of Mormon congregations in Czechia (Figure 8) follows a pattern of hierarchical diffusion. With two exceptions, the 13 Czech cities with Mormon congregations ranked in Czechia's top twenty, in 2001, in terms of their comprehensive regional significance (HAMPL 2005). Jičín was ranked 65th and Třebíč 30th in this hierarchical listing of Czech cities. The fact that Mormon congregations exist in Jičín and Třebíč, as well as in Uherské Hradiště and Jihlava (19th and 16th respectively in comprehensive regional significance), is largely due to the actions of certain key individuals. Without these individuals and the organizational foundation they prepared, especially during the 1980s and early 1990s, Mormon congregations would most likely exhibit even more evidence to support a hierarchical diffusion model. (Reeves 2004, see also Campora 1997)

The distribution of Adventist and Mormon congregations corresponds with general patterns concerning religiosity in Czechia, shown as the percentage of believers (from all churches) in the total population, at the municipality level, in Figure 9. Both churches have more congregations in Moravia and Silesia, combined, (86 Adventist; 7 Mormon) than in Bohemia (84 Adventist; 6 Mormon), in spite of the fact that Bohemia comprises roughly two thirds of Czechia's population and land area (Czech Population and Housing Census 2001). In addition,

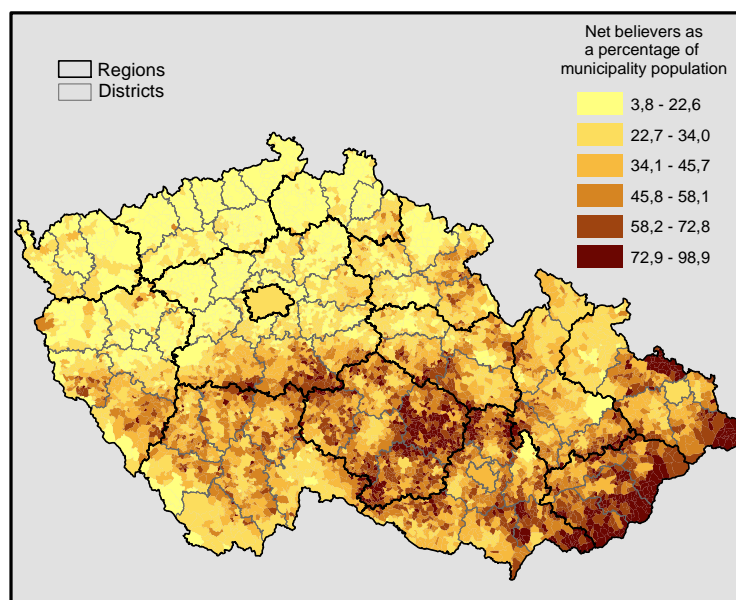


Figure 9: Believers as a percent of total population by municipality (source: Czech Pop. and Housing Census 2001)

the strong cluster of Adventist congregations in Silesia and the lack of a Mormon congregation in the Northeast Bohemian Basin (see Figures 7 and 8) represent two interesting departures from what might be expected on the basis of the overall distribution of the Czech population (the background layer in Figures 7 and 8). To summarize, this means that more congregations exist in Moravia and Silesia – the

eastern territories of Czechia – compared with a relatively lower number of congregations in the western half of the country.

In discussing the Czech census (Czech Population and Housing Census 2001), it is interesting to compare data concerning Adventists and Mormons, which were both included in this most recent census, with the membership statistics that the churches themselves publish. The census reported 9,757 Adventists and 1,366 Mormons living in Czechia in 2001 (see also Havlíček and Hupková 2008; Brotánková 2003). In this thesis I have focused research on data provided by the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, respectively, concerning their size and distribution. The census, which bases religious affiliation solely on the voluntary claims of the population being surveyed, exhibits large discrepancies with these data.

At the end of 2007, Adventists reported 7555 members – significantly lower than the census result from 2001, when Adventist statistics reported approximately 7700 members (145th Annual Statistical Report-2007, also see Figure 12, below). In reviewing Adventist statistics, it becomes clear that they keep careful record of members who leave the church, whether by death, disinterest or excommunication. On the other hand, Mormon statistics, which are made

available to the general public, are somewhat more vague, not detailing any decreases in membership. According to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, there were 2028 Mormons in Czechia at the close of 2007 (www.newsroom.lds.org), a significantly higher number of Mormons than the most recent census reported (1366).

Using the results from the survey, which I will discuss in greater detail in the next major division of this thesis, I made an estimation of the number of actively participating Adventists and Mormons in Czechia. I calculated an average for all of the responses, from the two respective churches, and then multiplied it by the total number of the churches' congregations. The average Adventist congregation size, in terms of average attendance at worship services is 45.6, which when multiplied by 170 congregations, yields 7,755. This result is surprisingly close to the number provided by the Adventists themselves. The average size of the Mormon congregations that responded to the survey is 55.8. Applying this average to all 13 Mormon congregations in Czechia produces an estimate of 725 actively participating Mormons. My intent here is not to say that data from either of these churches is bad or good, it is simply to compare what I have based my research on with other data that is available. These comparisons do, however, produce some interesting questions, regarding data from religious organizations versus data gathered from independent sources (see Iannaccone and Stark 1997).

4.3.1 Adventists in Czechia

When asked how the Seventh-day Adventist Church was and has been perceived by Czech society, Zdeněk Vojtíšek, the author and religionist mentioned above, spoke of three stages of perception. The first of these began in the early 1900s, with the introduction of Adventism to Czechia and continued until the Communist takeover in 1948. During this period, the Seventh-day Adventist Church was seen as a small, abnormal religious group; beyond that, however, society offered no significant resistance to its operations. Four decades of Communist control, from 1948 to 1989, comprise the second of these stages. During this period, the activities and operations of all churches in Communist Czechoslovakia were suppressed. The Adventist Church was no exception, facing persecution from the government and from the Communist Party, to varying degrees, for the duration of this period. For a time (1952 – 56), the government even attempted to completely eradicate the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Czechoslovakia. During the third and final stage, which began with the Velvet Revolution of 1989, Adventists have found acceptance in Czech society and the Seventh-day Adventist Church is now considered a normal, Christian church (Vojtíšek, interview with the author, 2008). The Seventh-day Adventist Church was officially registered with the Czech Ministry of Culture in 1950 (this registration was revoked from 1952 until 1956 – see below) (Ministry of Culture Czech Republic).

Antonín Šimon holds the distinction of being the first Czech Adventist. He learned about and accepted the message of Adventism, while living and working in Germany in 1889. In 1890, Šimon returned to Bohemia (Nová Ves u Roudnice nad Labem) with the intention of spreading the message of Adventism among his own people. These efforts to evangelize were quite slow in their infancy. Šimon moved his family to Prague, in 1896, where a small group of Adventists was soon meeting regularly on Saturdays. At the end of 1907, however, there were still only 84 registered members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in all of Austria-Hungary. (Drejnar 2008)

Shortly thereafter, Adventist congregations were established in Liberec in northern Bohemia and in Těšín in Silesia. The large portion of German-speaking inhabitants in these areas (the Sudetenland) was somewhat more receptive to Adventism, in large part due to trained, German preachers and to the extensive amount of Adventist publications available in the German language. This is reflected in the selection of Liberec and Opava as the respective headquarters of the Bohemian Mission Field and the Moravian-Silesian Mission Field (organizational units of the Seventh-day Adventist Church), when these were created in 1912.

Drejnar (2008) emphasizes that linguistic and cultural differences were never a significant issue for Adventists in Czechia and that feelings of brotherhood and camaraderie outweighed any perceived differences. This apparent ability to overlook cultural and linguistic differences is a significant characteristic, common to both Adventist and Mormon congregations, aiding in the creation of both bridging and linking social capital and I will return to it in the results sections of this thesis.

Growth of Adventism in Czechia continued and became more rapid, after World War I. As an example of the growing international significance of Czechia for Adventists, in 1925, an Adventist missionary institute was established in Loděnice u Prahy as a school for Adventist preachers from all Slavic countries. A few years previous to this, in 1919, the Czechoslovakian Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists was created with its headquarters in Opava. These headquarters were later located in Brno for a time (from 1922 until 1935), before being moved to Prague, where they remain at present. (Drejnar 2008)

It is interesting to follow this relay of cities that were home to the headquarters of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Czechoslovakia. Initially, Adventism grew rapidly among the German-speaking inhabitants of the Sudeten regions and because the headquarters needed to be near a greater number of the members they served, Opava was selected. As membership grew in other areas of Czechoslovakia, Brno represented a better geographic center for Adventists throughout the country (which at that time included Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Rus to the east). By 1935, when there were more than 3500 Adventists in Czechia (Drejnar 2008), it made sense for the

church headquarters to be close to the political capital of Czechoslovakia. By this time, Adventists were seeking recognition and respect as a mainstream Christian church.

World War II, of course, brought difficulties for Adventists in Czechia. Initially, Nazi officials proclaimed that all Adventist activities would be outlawed, because – due to the fact that they observed Saturday as the Sabbath – Adventists were seen as an “offshoot of Judaism” (Drejnar 2008, p. 51). However, with their strong position among the German-speaking population, Adventists in Czechia were able to find sympathetic ears among the Nazi leaders and church activities were allowed to continue, to a limited extent, for the duration of the war.



Figure 10: Londýnská 30, a historic building for Czech Adventists (photograph by the author)

The years immediately following World War II were a very active time for Czech Adventists, in terms of growth and organizational development. In 1946, an Adventist Bible seminar was established to train preachers from throughout the Czechoslovak Union of Adventists. It was originally housed in a small building in Prague’s Vinohrady (Londýnská 30, see Figure 10) until a larger building was completed in Krč (this second building is now Thomayerova Hospital). The new school

encouraged growth and activity among local Adventists. Soon two additional congregations were established in Prague (in Krč - 1948 and Holešovice - 1950), making a total of three Adventist units in the city. (Drejnar 2008)

The communist takeover in February 1948 brought some bittersweet changes for Adventists throughout Czechia. In 1949, for the first time, the Seventh-day Adventist Church was officially recognized by a Czech (Czechoslovak) government. This action was seen by Adventists, however, as a means whereby communist rulers could exert control and power over the church’s organization. Shortly thereafter (1.10.1952), the Seventh-day Adventist Church along with all of its activities was outlawed and its property was confiscated by the state. This ban lasted nearly four years (until 18.9.1956) and ended, primarily, because the socialist rulers of Czechoslovakia preferred the idea of having “legal” control over a limited and defined number of Adventist congregations to the impossibility of controlling an unknown number of smaller *illegally* meeting groups that remained determined to practice their religion, in spite of government restrictions. (Drejnar 2008)

The story of the Adventist congregation organized in Holešovice provides an example of how Adventists maintained their religious activities through decades of communist rule (Šustek *Vzpomínky Poutníků*). This particular congregation moved its location several times, literally all over the northern districts of Prague, from Holešovice to Letná to Karlín to Libeň, before moving into its own meetinghouse in Smíchov in 1985. For Adventists “construction of the only religious building erected in Prague during the period of totalitarianism” (Šustek) represented a miraculous event, which certainly encouraged their continued religious devotion and improved the way Adventists were viewed by Czech society.¹⁴ Figure 11 is a picture of this building, as it appears today. The building also houses official Adventist, internet radio (www.sir.zde.cz) and television (www.hopetv.cz) stations.



Figure 11: The Prague-Smíchov Adventist Church
(photograph by the author)

This history of this group, which now comprises the Prague-Smíchov Adventist Church, also illustrates another interesting development, in terms of linking social capital, which arose out of the difficulties church organizations endured under communist rule in Czechia. While it was still located in Holešovice, this Adventist congregation met in the same building as the Czech Brethren Evangelical Church. In Letná and Karlín, it utilized the same buildings as the Czechoslovak Hussite Church and in Libeň, these Adventists again rented space from – and shared a chapel with – the Czech Brethren. (Šustek)

It is evident from these arrangements that relationships of trust were created and strengthened across denominational boundaries, a clear example of linking social capital. The shared difficulties faced by these and other church organizations as they tried to maintain religious traditions, during decades of communist rule, in many cases, led to close relations between leaders and members of various denominations. Researcher and author Zdeněk Vojtíšek (see Vojtíšek 2007) also pointed out the existence of close relations among these different Christian

¹⁴ The Adventist meetinghouse in Smíchov was planned, prepared and built mainly by Adventists, who donated their time and talents, without expecting financial reimbursement. It represents a unique example of the human and social capital available within this type of a congregation.

churches, stating that Adventists in Czechia are extraordinarily friendly towards other religious groups due to persecution and a history of common suffering. (Vojtíšek interview with author)

In 1989, with the end of communist Czechoslovakia, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, now free from the restrictions of the previous forty years, emerged with a strong foundation to support its members and to seek additional members. At the end of 1989, the Czechoslovak Union Conference reported that there were 6,325 Adventists living in Czechia (2234 and 4091 in its Bohemian and Moravian-Silesian Conferences, respectively (<http://www.adventiststatistics.org/>)). As Figure 12 depicts, after a few years of rapid growth in the early 1990s, the number of Adventists in Czechia has fallen slightly and stabilized at approximately 7,500. With the exception of this relatively short (approximately 6 year) period, membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Czechia has remained fairly steady, since 1972 (see Figure 12).

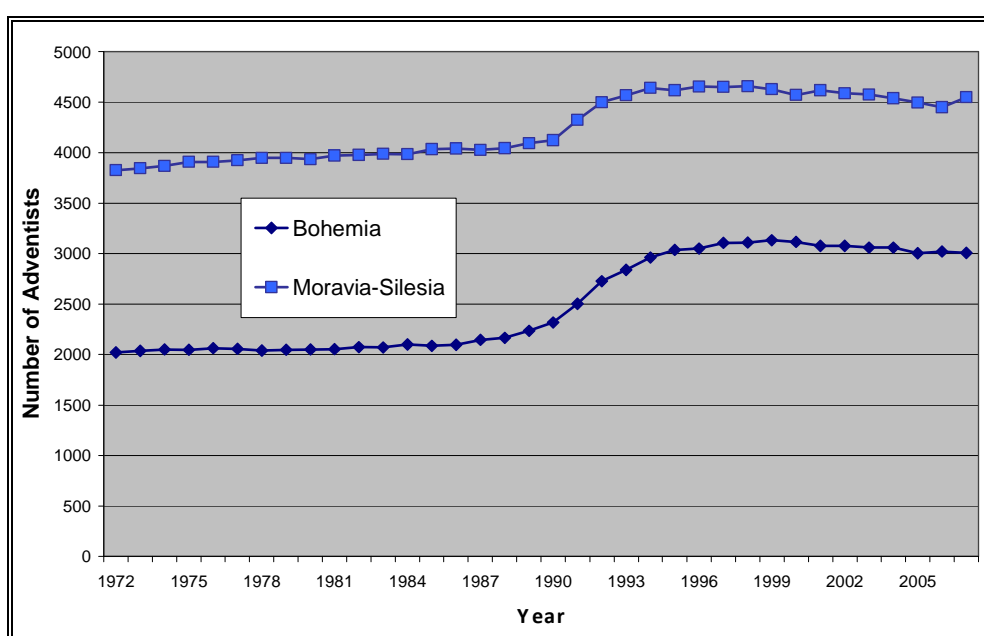


Figure 12: Adventist membership in Czechia from 1972 to 2007 (source: <http://www.adventiststatistics.org/>)

This again demonstrates the claim (as with China, India and Romania) that with sufficient numbers and organization in place, previous to significant political or societal changes, Adventists have been able to resist pressure to disband, to retain membership and, in the case of Romania and Czechia, to emerge with a foundation to support continued growth and organizational development.

4.3.2 Mormons in Czechia

Thomas Biesinger, a German by birth who had immigrated to Utah after joining the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was the first Mormon missionary to enter Czechia (in 1883). Due to restrictions placed on minority religious movements by the Austro-Hungarian Empire,

Biesinger was not allowed to publicly preach. He simply spoke with people he met. Often, these conversations would evolve into religious discussions. After one month, Biesinger was accused and put in jail for spreading religious ideas. Ironically, two months later, upon being released from jail, he baptized the Czech man who had accused him Antonín Just, who became the first Czech Mormon. Biesinger soon left the area under pressure from the religiously intolerant political environment. (*Our Heritage* 1996)

For whatever reason, whether it was the call for Mormons to move to “Zion,” the Hapsburg’s restrictions on religious groups, missionary successes elsewhere that diverted attention and resources from less fruitful mission fields or something different, Mormon missionaries did not return in force to Czechia until 1929, when, the Czechoslovak Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established.¹⁵ At this time (and, at least in Czechia, the same is true with relatively few exceptions, today) these Mormon missionaries came (come) mainly from America. They needed to learn the Czech language and culture to effectively communicate their message. While many Czechs expressed interest in the message of these young Americans during the 1930s, they were generally, and understandably, slow to join this small and foreign church. (Mehr 2002)

Mormon missionaries were forced to leave Czechia in 1939, as World War II broke out. They returned briefly, from 1946 to 1950, but were soon evicted again, after being accused of espionage by Czechoslovakia’s communist leadership. At the end of World War II, there were only 86 Mormons in Czechia. In spite of great interest among the Czech people (attendance at Mormon meetings was very high during this post-war period), little growth in the number of Mormons in the country resulted, due in part to the short amount of time that the church was allowed to operate (in any form) as well as the severe restrictions placed upon its operations, after the communist revolution of February 1948 and before it was outlawed completely in the spring of 1950. (Mehr 1994)

With a significantly smaller membership base than other religious organizations in Czechia (e.g. the Seventh-day Adventist Church), the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was not able to operate openly during communist rule. Small groups of Mormons would meet together as circumstances allowed, but they were often the target of government persecution in a variety of forms (Reeves 2004). This is not so different from the story of Adventists or other types of church members, during Czechia’s communist era. Perhaps the greatest difference is that Mormons, as a group, were too small to effectively organize and operate as a church, a fact that severely limited opportunities for growth and organizational development.

¹⁵ On July 24, 1929, John Widstoe, as a Mormon Apostle, said a special prayer on Kněží Hora, above Karlštejn Castle, to “dedicate Czechoslovakia for the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.” This marked the official beginning of Mormon missionary efforts in the country (Mehr 2002).

In spite of these restrictions, Mormons in Brno began to implement certain unique and incognito methods to share their religious convictions. Most predominant among these methods were organized yoga classes and yoga summer camps. Olga Campora (Kovářová before marriage) (1997) wrote about her experiences learning about Mormons as a university student in Brno, joining the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (in 1982) and participating in these yoga camps. Campora came from Uherské Hradiště and her book documents areas of strength in terms of Mormon activities, during the 1980s, mainly in Moravia, in Brno and Uherské Hradiště, but also to a lesser extent in Bohemia, primarily around Jičín (Campora 1997, Mehr 1994, Reeves 2004).

Limited growth in the number of Mormons in Czechia occurred, especially during the final decade of communist rule, and by July 1990, when a Czechoslovak Mormon mission was again created, there were approximately 290 Czech Mormons (Mehr 1994). As with other churches, the first few years of democracy in Czechia were marked by significant growth both in terms of interest its message and local membership in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. By the end of 1992, there were more than 740 Mormons in Czechia, representing more than a 150% growth rate over a two-year period. This extraordinary growth has not been sustained. Similar to the statistics on Adventists in Czechia, growth in the number of Mormons in Czechia dropped significantly in the mid 1990s and has remained fairly low since then (www.newsroom.lds.org). I do not have annual statistics on Mormons in Czechia that would show in detail any recent trends. My own observations – in our Prague congregation (the largest Mormon congregation in Czechia), there were 15 convert baptisms in 2008 and four baptisms of eight-year-old children from Mormon families, already in the congregation – indicate that significant growth continues. However, total numbers of members are not as telling, as statistics on average weekly attendance at worship services, especially in determining the number of actively participating members of a congregation, who can easily tap in to the social capital arising from such participation.

As with Adventists in Czechia, when I spoke with Zdeněk Vojtíšek about the way Czech society views the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, he again spoke of stages of perception. Vojtíšek recognized two primary stages in the development of a general Czech perception of Mormons, pointing out that, due to their small numbers in the country, Mormons were practically unknown to Czech society until after 1989. (Vojtíšek interview with author)

Throughout the 1990s, Czechs generally viewed Mormons in a rather negative light, due to suspicions and cultural differences. Vojtíšek spoke of three possible reasons for the existence of this negative perception. Cultural differences, magnified by the fact that the vast majority of Mormon missionaries to Czechia came/come from the United States, was a significant factor in creating this perception, especially after the initial euphoria of the velvet revolution (early

1990s). For instance, some people have spoken with Vojtíšek about their annoyance at hearing the “American” Mormon missionaries publicly singing Christmas carols in July. Suspicion concerning Mormon practices formed the basis for the second two of these three reasons. This suspicion was directed both at Mormon temples and the ordinances performed within them, as well as at the church’s history with practicing polygamy.¹⁶¹⁷ (Vojtíšek interview with author)

At the beginning of the 21st century, the perception of Mormons in Czech society shifted to more of a neutral stance (Vojtíšek interview with author). This shift can probably be attributed to the ongoing exposure of Czech Society to Mormonism and to Mormons, connected with the increased connectivity of an overarching, global society. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was officially registered with the Czech Ministry of Culture in 1990 and relations with the Czech government are neutral (Ministry of Culture Czech Republic).

¹⁶ Due to the sacred nature of these ordinances, Mormons do not describe their details outside of the temples, in which they are performed. A recent youtube video (Mormon Messages: Why Mormons Build Temples), from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints itself, summarizes the significance of temples for Mormons (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-x-TQivCx8>)

¹⁷ Mormons practiced polygamy from approximately 1850 until 1890, when the practice was stopped – according to Mormon tradition – by revelation. A number of break-off groups, which are not affiliated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, still practice polygamy and attention directed at such groups by the media is often, mistakenly, directed at Mormons as well.

5. Manifestations of social capital

In light of their global and local distribution as well as the relative position of these two churches in Czechia and throughout Europe, it is clear that Adventist and Mormon congregations have the potential to create social capital for their members. The congregations possess both organizational support, through their respective worldwide church organizations, and uniquely Adventist or, respectively, Mormon packages of social norms, encouraging close relationships among congregation members (bounded reciprocity). As such, each congregation exhibits a certain potential to facilitate trust-based relations between its members (enforceable trust), especially between actively participating members.

I have prepared and conducted a survey of Adventist and Mormon congregations throughout Czechia in an attempt to measure the relative strength of these congregations as sources of social capital for their members. Due to its nature as a “soft factor” in human relations and, as evidenced in the literature discussion in this thesis, the difficulty of clearly defining what exactly is and is not social capital; it is difficult, at best, to quantitatively measure expressions of or potential for social capital. Consequently, I have also resorted to qualitative methods to shed light on specific examples of social capital. I conducted a number of semi-structured interviews with active members of various Adventist or Mormon congregations in Czechia. The interviews focused on interviewees’ experiences and opinions concerning relations within the congregation and the benefits they have received from social connections, resulting from their membership and participation in a congregation.

5.1 Methods

5.1.1 The survey

I prepared a survey in the form of a questionnaire to send to all of the Adventist and Mormon congregations located in Czechia. The survey was prepared in *Google docs* as an online form that could be filled out and submitted over the internet, significantly reducing the footwork necessary to collect and process data. I communicated with Dr. Josef Hrdinka, Executive Secretary of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Czechia and Slovakia, and through his office, the survey was sent directly to the 170 Adventist congregations in Czechia. In much the same way, I worked with Marvin Slováček, President of the Czech Prague Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to have the survey sent to the 13 Mormon congregations in Czechia.

The survey’s introductory questions ascertained basic data on the location, size and age of the congregation. Congregation size was derived from an estimate of the average number of congregation members attending weekly worship services. This measure of congregation size should be a more accurate indicator of the number of actively participating congregation

members, i.e. members generally possessing the greatest amounts of social capital. In measuring congregation size in this manner, I intentionally avoided using total member counts from the congregations, as such data could easily result in misleading conclusions concerning participation in the congregations.

In addition to this measure of average attendance at worship services, the next questions (Questions 3 – 5) focused on the availability and frequency of congregation activities. These included regularly held (weekly, monthly, etc.) church-sponsored activities, beyond the scope of Saturday/Sunday worship services, as well as irregular social events and even extra-congregational activities organized and put on by congregation members to include and involve other members. Question 6 asked whether lay members of the congregation participated in the preparation and presentation of worship services and, if so, in what ways they participated. Answers to these questions provide an indicator of opportunities for participation as a means of strengthening the potential for significant social networks to develop within a given congregation. Actively participating members are expected to have a variety of opportunities (answers to these questions will describe the extent and diversity of such opportunities) to be in contact with and develop trusting relationships with other members of a congregation.

The next two questions (7 and 8) in the survey were taken or adapted from the World Values Survey and represent a measure of trust in the congregation. Question 7 is exactly the same as Question A165 from the World Values Survey (www.worldvaluessurvey.org) allowing for some comparison with findings from this survey, which targeted the entire population of Czechia and which was conducted in 1990, 1991, 1998 and 1999. Question 8 is a slight revision on the previous question and focuses on trust within the congregation itself. It is intended to demonstrate whether levels of trust are significantly higher within Adventist and Mormon Congregations than they are in Czech society as a whole. Trust is considered here, along with participation, as a vital ingredient in the creation of social capital (Mohan and Mohan 2002).

Question 9 is sub-divided into six categories of help (finding work, finding housing, etc.) and also includes an opportunity to describe a seventh (other) category. For each of these categories, I asked respondents to rate the frequency, on a scale from 1 (very often) to 5 (never), with which they had witnessed such types of help being provided voluntarily within their congregation. The resultant scalar answers provide useful information on the relative frequency of a variety of services (social capital outcomes) as they are provided within a congregation. The following question (10) is intended as a means of loosely describing how many from the congregation are being helped and how many are helping and can be applied to the outcomes measured in question 9.

Questions 9 and 10 represent the only attempt in the survey to quantify actual manifestations or outputs of social capital in a congregation. The questionnaire was perceived and designed

primarily as means of measuring *potential* for the development of social capital among congregation members and these attempts to measure outputs (showing that social capital is, in fact, utilized by congregation members) shall be viewed as an indicator of the existence and strength of such potential.

The final question of the survey (11) was designed to generate an indicator of recent developments in overall congregation activity. This “participatory momentum” in a congregation could be an important underlying factor in the development of social capital for group members. I included this question mainly as a way to control for any significant effects on the relationships that are the focus of this research and to indicate possible avenues for further research.

5.1.2 Attempting to measure social capital potential

Viewing participation and trust as the two major components necessary for the creation of social capital for group members, I focused on attempting to measure these aspects. I did not succeed in developing any robust measure of congregational trust. The results of the questions on trust do, however, support the claim that significantly higher levels of trust exist in the congregations in this study, than in Czech society as a whole. The estimate of average attendance at weekly worship services provides a basis for statements concerning congregation size or numbers of active participants. Participation was examined primarily through a so-called activity score, which synthesizes survey data to quantify members’ opportunities to participate in congregation events.

This activity score (a measurement of potential for participation or events available) facilitates certain quantitative comparisons among the congregations in the study, in terms of their strength as a source of social capital for their members. More – and more frequently – available activities and more time spent together lead to increases in the social capital available to those participating in a group. To attempt to give a quantity to manifestations of social capital, I also created a formula to calculate an outcome score, which summarizes data from the help categories that comprise question 9.

Measuring trust in the congregations proved to be problematic. Not long after sending the questionnaire, I realized that I would not obtain enough information about trust to be able to uniquely categorize survey respondents. The one and only question about trust within the congregations is something of a yes-no question, providing very little to diversify respondents on the basis of congregational trust. While it is true that trust is quite difficult, debatably impossible, to measure; it might have been possible to gather more usable survey data on the subject. The data I gathered on trust is quite straightforward and, as a result, the measure of

congregation trust is simply the result of survey question 8 (two possible answers: “most people in the congregation can be trusted” or “in our congregation, one can’t be too careful”).¹⁸

The questionnaire provided much more data that could conceivably be used to measure opportunities to participate in the individual congregations. To calculate a score in this area, I processed the data, resulting from the survey, and then weighted certain expressions, eventually determining an indicator that should approximate a congregation member’s opportunities for involvement. First, I counted the number of reported routine church events (question 3) and multiplied it by four, to give added weight to regularly held, congregation-sponsored events. Then, I tallied the less-frequent and irregularly held events (question 4) for each respondent, this time with no weight added. Respondents confirmed their knowledge (or lack of knowledge) of the existence of unofficial events, prepared and carried out among congregation members, by answering yes or no (question 5). A “yes” answer was valued and weighted (yes = 3), while a “no” answer added no value. I added weight to any report of unofficial events, because such events demonstrate the existence of close relationships within the congregation and a desire to interact beyond the extent of standard congregational activities. Also, the fact that a survey respondent reports the existence of unofficial events suggests that such events happen relatively frequently or are significant in some other way. I had planned to also include results from the next survey question (question 6), concerning the participation of lay congregation members in the preparation and presentation of worship services; however, due to the fact that *all* respondents indicated that such participation was common, I determined that it was not necessary to include it in this measure of opportunities for involvement. To summarize:

Activity score = (4)(No. of regular events) + (No. of less frequent events) + (3)(existence of extra-congregational events, where “yes”=1 and “no”=0)

To calculate an outcome score (an attempt to measure observed manifestations of social capital), I started by converting survey responses to questions 9 and 10 to a positive, numerical format. Each of the seven sub-questions under question 9, asked respondents to rank the frequency with which they had observed different types of help, provided by members in the congregation, from 1 (very often) to 5 (never). I reversed the numerical order of these responses to make it so that positive responses (higher frequency) had a higher value and I gave “never” responses zero value (i.e. 1 was changed to 4, 2 to 3, 3 to 2, 4 to 1 and 5 to 0). Question 10 had four possible responses, so I ranked these, first according to the relative amount of people providing help and second according to a relative estimation of how many were benefiting from the provided help, and gave them numerical values from three to zero

¹⁸ I am really not sure if it would be possible to write a question (questions) that would be capable of measuring trust in a group setting. The idea is appealing, but its practical application would be difficult.

(Many members are helping and many receive help. = 3; There is a large number of helpers and a small number of recipients of help. = 2; A small number of members help others a great deal, while the remainder of the congregation's members are not as involved. = 1; There is a small number of both helpers and recipients of help. = 0). I then calculated a sum of the positively transposed frequencies of the six categories of help in question 9, omitting the “other” category. I multiplied this sum by two to give it more weight and then simply added the numerical expression of the response to question 10 from the survey. Here is the formula:

Outcome score = (2)(sum of frequencies 9.1 through 9.6) + (numerical expression of response to question 10)

I want to emphasize again that this survey is an attempt to measure an aspect of group behavior that is ultimately immeasurable. However, such an attempt is far from useless. The quantitative results from this survey shed light on the existence and workings of social networks that impact the daily lives of actively participating Adventists and Mormons, in many cases providing them with a great deal of social capital.

5.2 Discussion of survey results

As mentioned above, I designed this survey for the specific task of measuring the strength of religious congregations in Czechia as a source of social capital for their members. The survey was sent (by email) to each of the Adventist and Mormon congregations in the country (183 total), meaning that the entire target population was invited to respond and provide information, concerning trust, participation and acts of service within their respective group.

I received a total of 69 responses; 64 from Adventist and five from Mormon congregations. However, due to the method used to send the survey to Adventist congregations, I received a number of duplicate responses.¹⁹ For each pair of duplicate responses, I flipped a coin to select and remove one of the duplicates from the results table, which I later used for comparative analysis of the congregations. This process left me with a total of 60 respondent congregations. Therefore, the overall rate of response was 33% of all the congregations in the study (60/183). Figure 13 provides an overview of the respondents by location, church affiliation and size, in terms of average attendance at worship services.

¹⁹ The survey was ultimately sent to the church Elders (each Adventist congregation has one or two Elders, lay members chosen by a congregational vote who take responsibility for a number of administrative duties) and to preachers (who often preach to multiple congregations). In effect, this meant that the survey was sent to two or three possible respondents from each Adventist congregation.

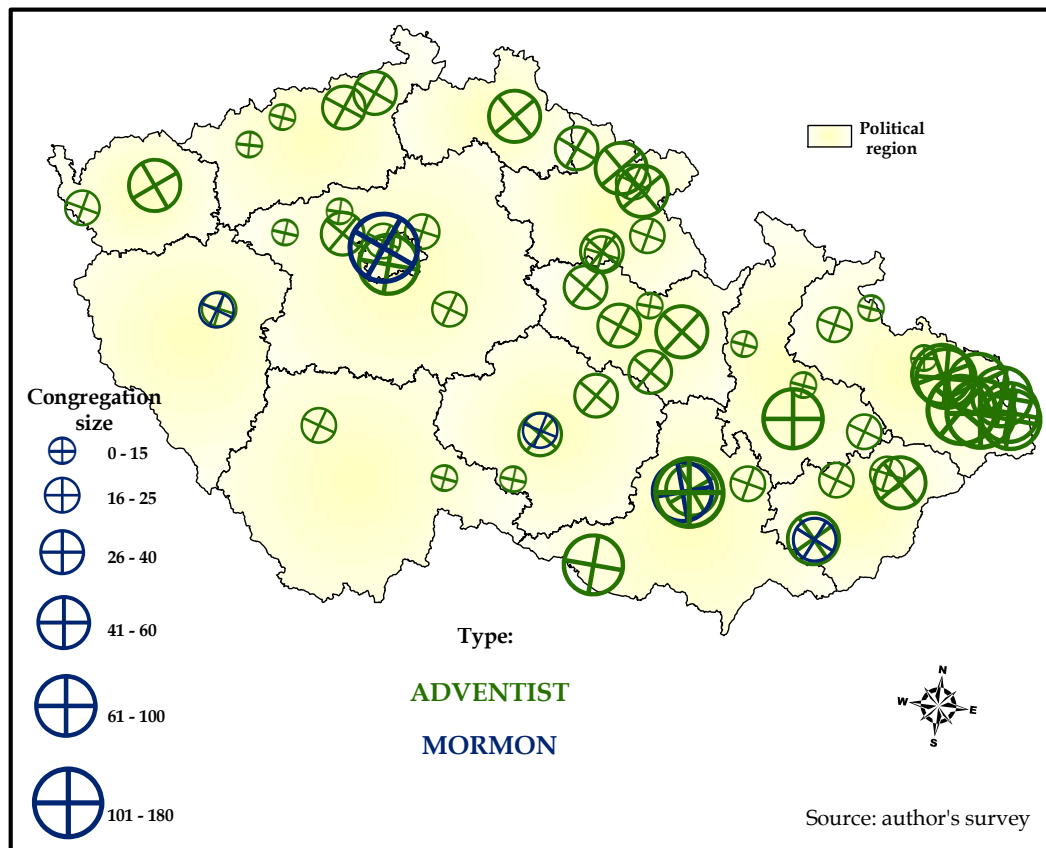


Figure 13: Responding congregations by size and type (source: author's survey)

5.2.1 Trust in the congregations

The survey results offer substantial evidence to support the claim that increased levels of trust exist within Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia when compared with Czech society as a whole. Considering the nature of social networks and the relations that exist between people, who see each other often (see the section below on participation in events and activities), this is not a big surprise. However, the numbers speak for themselves in expressing a very different trusting atmosphere that seems to prevail in these religious groups, in comparison with broader Czech society.

Question 8 in the survey, which I adapted from a question used in the World Values Survey (www.worldvaluessurvey.org, Question A165) reads: *Generally speaking, would you say that most people **in your congregation** can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people **in your congregation**.* Only three respondents out of 69 (including the duplicates) indicated that it is necessary to be very careful in dealing with people within their congregation. The remaining 66 or 96% of the respondents stated that most people in their congregation could be trusted. I am not using the responses to this question to make any congregation to congregation comparisons and, as a result, I find it appropriate to consider all 69 responses (see Table 8).

Table 8: Contingency table showing the variance in responses concerning trust

	Czechia World Values Sur. 1991, 92, 98, 99		Survey responses to the same question (7)		Trust within congregations (question 8)		Totals	
Most people can be trusted.	1574	26,5%	37	53,6%	66	95,7%	1677	27,6%
One can't be too careful.	4364	73,5%	32	46,4%	3	4,3%	4399	72,4%
Totals	5938	100,0%	69	100,0%	69	100,0%	6076	100,0%

Source: World Values Survey (1991, 92, 98, 99) and author's survey

For comparison, Czech respondents to the World Values Survey in 1990, 1991, 1998 and 1999 (a total of 5938 individuals) answered a similar question, focused more generally on society. (The words “in your congregation” were not included in the original question. Question 7 in my survey is the original World Values Survey question verbatim.) Approximately one quarter (26.5%) of these Czech respondents, representing the entire population of Czechia, agreed that “most people could be trusted”, while the vast majority (73.5%) stressed the necessity of being careful when dealing with people. Interestingly, in response to the exact same question, the 69 respondents to my survey also expressed increased willingness to trust members of Czech society as a whole, with more than half of them (53.6%) agreeing that most people can be trusted. The contingency table (Table 8) above shows the significant variations in response to these questions, both between the two populations surveyed, as well as between the two slightly different questions asked. A Chi-square analysis shows that all of these differences are significant at the 95% level.

5.2.2 Findings on potential for participation

The basic measure of congregation size, obtained from the survey responses, is the average attendance at weekly worship services. I know, from experiences in the congregations that I have belonged to, that it would be erroneous to use a congregation's total membership to obtain an accurate measurement of its number of *active participants*. It would also be wrong to assume that this average-attendance value accounts for the same people every week, as there are quite probably congregation members who attend once or twice per month (or per year) and not every week. Under the circumstances, however, the average attendance at weekly worship services gives a good indication of overall levels of congregation participation, in terms of an estimate of active participants. I have also applied this value to describe and compare the size of the various congregations in the study. As such, it is viewed as an independent variable, potentially affecting the level of social capital available to congregation members.

The congregations that responded to the survey range in size (average attendance) from zero (a recently closed Adventist group in Hrabyně) to 180 (Adventist Churches Brno-střední and Vojkovice, Frýdek Místek District) people at worship services. The mean average attendance for the responding congregations is 46. Appendix 4 lists all of the responding congregations by their size (average attendance) and includes their activity and outcome scores. In general, the larger congregations are located in larger cities and serve larger populations. However, it appears that agglomeration advantages could also play a role in the location of large congregations, which appears to be the case with Adventist congregations in Silesia, where it is clear from Figure 13 that a strong cluster of large groups exists. For instance, Vojkovice, one of the two largest congregations, in terms of average attendance reported in the survey, is located in a municipality with a population of only 495 people (Czech Population and Housing Census 2001). Vojkovice is an accessible site, however, along a highway connecting Frýdek Místek and Třinec, in an area that is relatively densely populated. The possible advantages of clustering for religious groups, while not specifically explored here, could provide an interesting avenue for further research.

The activity score (described above) builds on the principle of participation by quantifying the availability of events that are prepared by and held for congregation members. The more opportunities an Adventist or Mormon has to participate with fellow congregation members in a variety of activities, many of which are intended to bring together similar individuals (church youth organizations, mothers with young children, older members, etc.) and to focus on their unique spiritual needs, the more relationships will be made and strengthened. Thus the social capital available to participants in such activities should increase in relation to the quantity and quality of their participation. Although I would never claim that this activity score is a perfect measure of opportunities for participation in a group, it does provide a means for comparison among the Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia.

It is logical to suspect that a relationship exists between a congregation's size (average attendance) and its activity score. A larger religious group has more potential participants, more internal diversity (different specialized groups) and more members willing to plan, organize and implement activities. A linear regression confirms that a positive correlation exists at the 95% confidence level ($R^2 = .341$) (see Figure 14). Figure 14 shows a scatter plot distribution of survey results in terms of congregation size and activity score. Generally speaking, the data show that larger congregations provide more opportunities for member participation; however, interesting outliers exist. The two highest activity scores were measured at Adventist congregations in Červený Kostelec and Bruntál, which with 50 and 20 active participants, respectively, do not rank among the largest congregations (average congregation size is 46).

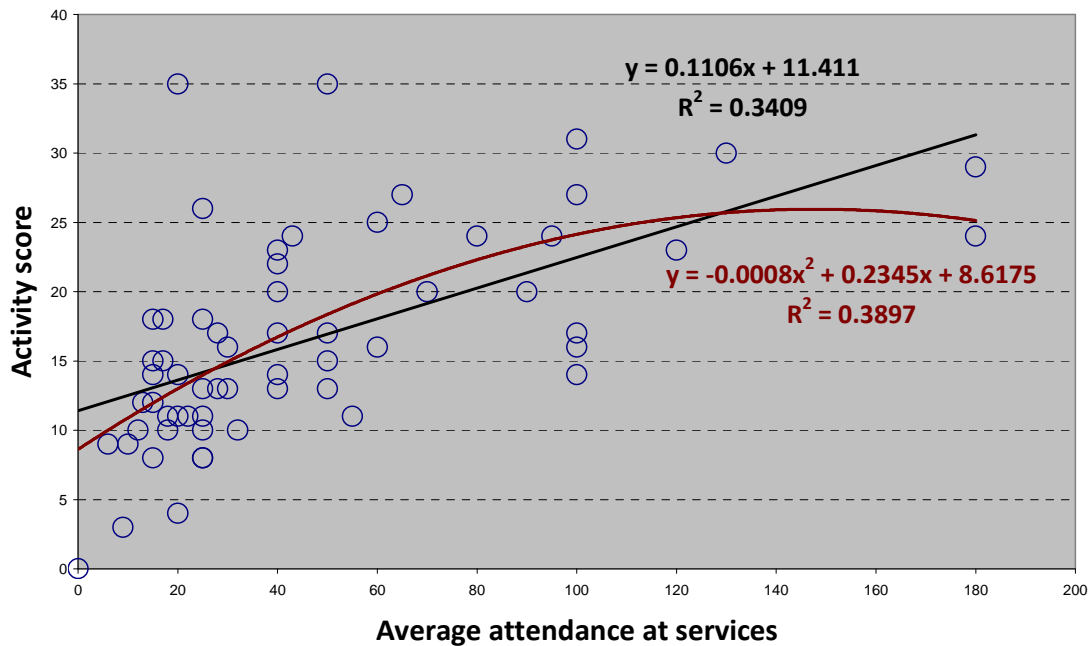


Figure 14: Scatter plot and regression of the relationship between average attendance and activity score (source: author's survey)

As expressed in my second main hypothesis, I expect that a critical value, in terms of congregation size, exists, beyond which potential for social capital will stop increasing and eventually begin to decline. The explanation for this assumption is quite simple. As a congregation becomes larger it becomes more difficult to develop and maintain meaningful relationships and trust with all – or even a significant portion – of the congregation's active participants. To test this possibility with the survey respondents, I employed a nonlinear regression to explore the relationship between congregation size and activity score (see Figure 14). The resultant regression curve ($y = -0.0008x^2 + 0.2345x + 8.6175$) is capable of more accurately predicting an activity score on the basis of congregation size ($R^2 = .390$) than the linear regression described above and indicates that, for the survey data, 147 active members is the ideal size for achieving a maximum activity score.

Table 9: Highest and lowest activity and outcome scores with average attendance

Congregation	Activity score	Average attendance	Congregation	Outcome score	Average attendance
Červený Kostelec Adv.	35	50	Vojkovice Adventist	43	180
Bruntál Adventist	35	20	Prague Mormon	43	120
Znojmo Adventist	31	100	Krnov Adventist	43	15
Congregation	Activity score	Average attendance	Congregation	Outcome score	Average attendance
Dobruška Adventist	4	20	Trutnov Adventist	10	50
Slaný Adventist	3	9	Hrabyň Adventist	9	0
Hrabyň Adventist	0	0	Holešov Adventist	7	25

Source: Author's survey

Table 9, above, shows the highest and lowest three results, in terms of both activity score and outcome score, from the survey. I want to stress that these numbers or rankings are merely the results of a somewhat subjective survey, which attempted to measure indicators that should contribute to the creation of social capital. As such, these results should not be taken out of context to make general statements concerning the quality of the responding congregations.

5.2.3 Relative frequencies of help offered by category

As described above, I calculated an outcome score by taking a weighted sum (multiplied by two) of the frequencies of help (expressed in positive numbers from 0 to 4) reported for the six categories in question 9 from the survey and then adding a numerical expression of the response to question 10 (a relative measure of who is helping whom within a congregation, see above). I again computed a regression to test for a relationship between congregation size and outcome score. Congregation size (average attendance at worship services) proved to be rather weak in its ability to predict outcome score ($R^2 = 0.185$). Nonetheless, three of the absolute highest outcome score values were recorded among the four largest congregations in the survey (Adventist congregations Brno-střední and Vojkovice and the Mormon congregation in Prague). It is clear from this result that outcome score data from this survey does not support the idea that the very largest congregations in this research lie above a certain critical value, beyond which social capital available to congregation members would stop increasing.

By their very nature, these frequencies of help, as observed by a leader in each congregation, are rather subjective. A five-step frequency scale from “never” to “very often”, regarding six intentionally broad categories, leaves a lot of space for individual interpretation. As a consequence, perhaps the greatest value of the data from question 9 in the survey lies in comparing the relative frequencies of categories within each, individual congregation.

Table 10: Comparison of relative frequencies of the highest and lowest ranking of the respective categories

Number of respondents ranking this category, within their congregation, with...	... the highest relative frequency	... the lowest relative frequency	Average reported frequency (0-4)
help in looking for work	19	20	2.1
help in finding housing	14	22	2.0
financial assistance	20	12	2.4
legal aid or advice	10	34	1.6
tending children or help in the household	30	16	2.4
preferential use of services of entrepreneurs within the congregation	17	22	2.2

Source: author's survey

Table 10, above, shows the total number of responding congregations that ranked each category with the greatest (and lowest) frequency, in relation to the other categorical frequencies as reported by the same, respective congregations. It also displays the average frequency rank, from 0 (never) to 4 (very often), for the 60 responding congregations. In many cases, survey respondents rated multiple categories with identical frequencies. For instance, the Adventist church in Cheb described all six categories with two intermediate frequency levels. In such cases, I added each of a given congregation's highest and lowest frequencies into the categorical totals (Cheb's Adventist church will be counted six times in the table, three times in the "highest" column and three times in the "lowest" column).

Help in the household was clearly the category of help reported by survey respondents to be most frequently exchanged (see Table 10). Financial assistance ranked second, both in terms of highest relative frequency and average reported frequency, and was the category least rated with a minimum relative frequency. These results suggest that financial and household help are the most frequent types of assistance exchanged within Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia. Additional research focused specifically on these outcomes would be necessary to make more definitive claims; however, these results give a broad overview of help offered (i.e. social capital in action) among Adventists and Mormons within their close-knit religious communities. They also provide direction in preparing and conducting qualitative research, as will be demonstrated in the following section of this thesis.

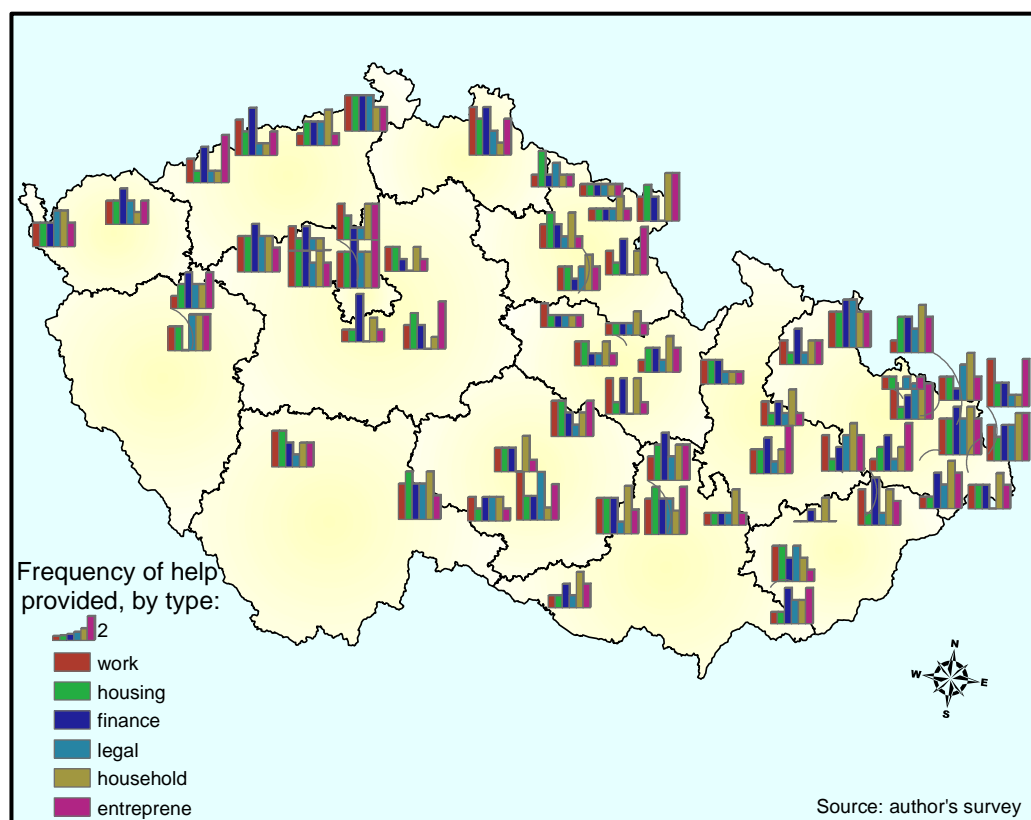


Figure 15: Relative frequencies of help provided in surveyed congregations, by type (source: author's survey)

Figure 15 shows data concerning these relative frequencies of different types of help (the categories from survey question 9), as witnessed and reported by survey respondents, by congregation location. Some regional patterns in “social capital outcomes” can be seen in this map. For instance it appears that financial help is more frequently provided in congregations in Prague and throughout northern Bohemia than in other regions of Czechia, while help in households seems to be more frequently provided in Moravia. The “household help” category could be related to demographic characteristics of the various congregations (e.g. families with young children, elderly, etc.), which were not examined in the survey.

Question 9 in the survey also allowed respondents to indicate “other” forms of help, provided within a congregation, and their relative frequency. Several respondents utilized this space to point out types of help, provided in their congregations, that were not specifically included in the survey’s categories of help. “Other” responses focused primarily on what I would call “spiritual help” and included visiting congregation members, especially those who are sick or in a hospital, praying for others, encouraging, listening to and otherwise caring for spiritual needs. Additional types of manual labor, including working in a garden, helping with moving, construction and home repairs, rounded out the types of help reported in the “other” category.

5.3 Benefits of belonging: examples of social capital in action

As I have demonstrated in chapter 5.2, above, and as others before me have discovered, stated and/or demonstrated (Schnur 2005, Mohan and Mohan 2000, Portes 1998, Putnam 2000, Jančák et al. 2008, etc.), it is very difficult to effectively measure the existence and strength of social capital. Qualitative research methods are more than useful; they are necessary to furthering our understanding of social capital as a viable resource for individuals arising from their relationships in social networks. I have structured this section on the theoretical basis of critical realism (see Sayer 1985). Cloke (Cloke et al., p. 18) expressed the central ideas of critical realism as follows. “Knowledge can come from participation, not just observation; language is not the only means of communication; knowledge is not a finished product; and science is not necessarily the highest form of knowledge.”

I conducted qualitative research on the Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia in two distinct ways. First, I visited a few of the congregations and attended their worship services, which are open to all interested individuals. I observed the general, social atmosphere of the group and paid specific attention to announcements concerning upcoming congregation activities and to any references to the provision or reception of service (manifestations of social capital) within the congregation. In connection with these visits, I selected individuals for semi-structured interviews, aimed at collecting specific examples of social capital in action. These approaches enabled me to gather and document specific examples of how social capital operates within the religious communities of Adventists and Mormons in Czechia.

5.3.1 Observations from congregation visits

In a general sense, I was surprised to find many similarities in the environment, the rhetoric and the general feel of both Adventist and Mormon worship services. Adventists and Mormons are quite friendly and welcoming to long-time members and friends as well as to newcomers and even visitors. I observed several instances when congregation members referred to themselves (or to their respective congregation) as a family. It is common practice in both churches to refer to other church members as brother or sister. Church meetings for both communities routinely begin and end with song and prayer. Sabbath observance (whether it is on Saturday or Sunday) for Adventists and Mormons is divided into multiple meetings: one general or main meeting for the entire congregation and smaller more specific groups for Sabbath/Sunday school, for children, etc.

It was interesting to note, at the conclusion of worship services for all of the congregations I visited, the large portion of congregation members that lingered to talk in small groups or to eat lunch together in the church kitchen next to the chapel. In my observations, this displayed a stark contrast to the rush with which students and employees usually exit school or work and made it clear that close friendships exist among those attending the Prague-Smíchov Adventist Church. While there are logical explanations for this behavior: people feel compelled to go to work and school for different reasons (mainly economic) and attending church is more out of desire or, at least, due to a different type of compulsion; it exhibits the strength and potential of these religious communities as sources of social capital for their members. An atmosphere based on friendship and mutual belief in Jesus Christ, who taught and exemplified selfless service, is created at these meetings that makes it easier for participating congregation members to build relationships of trust, which in turn facilitate “transactions mediated by social capital” (Portes 1998, p. 8).

On 14 March 2009, I visited worship services at the Prague-Smíchov Adventist Church. Saturday services in Smíchov begin at 9:30 in the morning with Sabbath school (teacher-led discussions in groups of roughly 20 Adventists about selected topics from the Bible). Within these Sabbath school groups – there were at least six different groups – lay members of the congregation, or rather the Sabbath school group, take turns leading the discussion. I was impressed with the level of preparedness of both teacher/discussion leader and students in the group I attended. Members of this smaller group participated actively in the discussion and it was clear that they knew each other quite well. Sabbath school concluded at 10:30 with a song and prayer and then there was a 15-minute break before the sermon.

The entire congregation then gathered for the main meeting and I discovered that Pavel Šimek, president of the Czecho-Slovakian Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, would deliver the sermon. It was clear from the reactions of the Adventists present that this represented a

unique and appreciated visit from their respected leader and, in several cases, their personal friend. Before the actual sermon began, there was a special Bible story for children, some announcements concerning upcoming events and a short reading from the Bible. One announcement in particular that caught my attention, as an example of the social capital available within the congregation, detailed the upcoming visit of an Adventist choir from Třinec. Members of the congregation were asked to volunteer time and resources to feed and accommodate choir members during the weekend of their visit. Also, a teenager from the congregation gave a brief report on several activities from the previous week that had focused on young Adventists in connection with what he called a “Week for the Youth.” This report highlighted recent opportunities for Adventists from a specific age category to gather together and build stronger mutual relations, which would conceivably create more social capital for the participants. Message boards and fliers in the foyer of the church confirmed the existence of additional age-specific and interest groups (e.g. seniors, hikers, mothers with young children, etc.), all of which enable and encourage the development of close relationships among congregation members.

I would estimate that there were at least 140 people in attendance at these Adventist worship services. Although I do not have specific statistical information about the demographics of the group, there seemed to be a larger portion of the older generation (over 50) than would be representative of Czech society as a whole. This higher portion of older people is consistent with general statistics on religious adherents in Czechia (Czech Population and Housing Census 2001); however additional research focused on the demographics of these congregations would be necessary to explore these issues. I also noticed several young couples (in their 20s and 30s) and families with children. One Adventist brother told me that there were less families with children in attendance than normal due to a vacation period from public schools. It appeared that the vast majority of attendees were Czech – or at least spoke and understood Czech and did not appear out of place – but I also observed two young men in the audience from South America (an interview subject told me they were from South America).

The sermon ended a little before noon, leaving time for a musical number and a closing song and prayer. All together, Sabbath school and sermon added up to two and a half hours of religious meetings on Saturday morning. It was also evident, from announcements and flyers, that additional Saturday afternoon meetings and/or less formal Adventist gatherings are not uncommon for this group.

I visited the Hradec Králové Adventist Church on 11 April, this time attending only the main meeting with its sermon. The friendly atmosphere was very similar to the Adventist group I visited in Prague-Smíchov. There were about 50 people in attendance in Hradec Králové and I

noted a larger portion of young people (approx. 20-35) than I had observed in Prague-Smíchov, as well as three families with children.



Figure 16: Home of the Hradec Králové Adventist Church (picture by the author)

Announcements in Hradec Králové that caught my attention, in regards to this research, focused on evangelizing projects. In commemoration of Easter weekend, Adventists were participating in project promoting the introduction of new Czech translation of Bible (<http://www.nbk.cz/>). They were cooperating with representatives of other Christian churches in the area and reading this newly translated Bible out loud on a square, near Hradec Králové's main train station, as part of nationwide project entitled "Celonárodní čtení Bible [Nationwide reading of the Bible]" (http://www.bible21.cz/nonstop_cteni/cetlo-se-na-vice-80-mestech). Another announcement focused on preparations for an evangelizing event during the upcoming summer that will

include a series of promoted lectures especially focusing on interesting young people in Christianity. These two announcements were formulated as invitations to help and focused on the desire Adventists have to share their message with the world, as discussed in earlier sections of this research. Figure 16 shows the Adventist building in Hradec Králové, located in a nice, central neighborhood on the Orlice River. The building hosts a variety of Adventist activities throughout the week.

As I have been attending Mormon worship services for my entire life, it is perhaps more difficult to recognize relevant elements of Mormon worship practices that would be of interest in this research. I will try to relate the important aspects of weekly Mormon worship and to compare the Mormon branches I have visited in Czechia. On 15 March 2009, I tuned my mind in to focus on social capital during worship services at the Prague Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. My observations concerning Mormon congregations will center around a description of this particular day's services.

Figure 17 is a photograph of the building (near Hradčanská Metro Station) that houses the Prague Branch as well as the headquarters of the Czech Prague Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Mormon worship services are divided into three sections and last

three hours; for the Prague Branch they take place from 9:00 to 12:00 on Sunday mornings. The first meeting, sacrament meeting, is intended for the entire congregation and usually lasts between 70 and 80 minutes. The central part of this meeting is the ordinance of the sacrament (bread and water are passed to the congregation as symbols of Jesus Christ's Atonement and as a renewal of baptismal covenants), which is followed by two or three talks and, occasionally, by musical numbers, prepared and presented by various members of the congregation. There is no professional clergy in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, so local leaders (bishops, branch presidencies, etc.) select and invite members to speak about a specified topics. This lack of a professional clergy presents more opportunities for the involvement of lay members of Mormon communities, but it also can result in greater strain, or in the words of Portes (1998) in "excessive claims" (see Table 1 above), on Mormon leaders, who are asked to fulfill their many church duties in addition to pursuing a career and earning a living.

At the beginning of sacrament meeting on March 15th, an announcement was made concerning an upcoming temple trip for youth (age 12-30) that would be for Mormon youth from through Czechia and Slovakia. In connection with this trip, the branch president made a request that any families or individuals, willing and able to provide a place for some of these youth from Moravia and Slovakia to sleep for one night, contact him to make further arrangements. It was interesting to me how similar this request was to the announcement I had heard the day before at the Prague-Smíchov Adventist Church.

After sacrament meeting, all children (18 months – 12 years old) attend "primary" classes, focused on their various age groups for the remaining time (nearly two hours). Older (and younger) people attending the Prague Branch attend Sunday school, which is



Figure 17: Prague's Mormon Branch (picture by the author)

divided into a number of groups on the basis of age, language (Czech or English) and topic ("Gospel Essentials" – basic, general knowledge or "Gospel Doctrine" – topical subjects from scripture), during the second hour. The third hour consists of meetings for the Relief Society (women older than 18), young women (12 – 18), Melchizedek Priesthood (men older than 18)

and Aaronic Priesthood (young men: 12 – 18). All of these meetings associate those in attendance into smaller, more focused groups, where they are more likely to build strong relationships based on common interests and challenges (e.g. school, raising a family, professional life, etc.), in addition to the common beliefs that characterize the entire religious community.

There were about 150 people in attendance at the Prague Branch, again quite similar to the Adventists in Prague-Smíchov; however, the demographic composition differed significantly. The largest difference was in nationality. There is a significantly large portion of Mormons from foreign countries in the Prague Branch, partly due to the presence the central office of the Czech Prague Mission (there are currently 18 missionaries attending the Prague Branch; 17 from the USA, 1 from Ukraine) and partly due to a number of families (mine included) living here for work or school. I would estimate that, including the missionaries mentioned above, 60 of the 150 people in attendance were not Czech. Last Sunday (26.4.2009) during sacrament meeting, Martin Pilka, president of the Prague Branch, stated that there are 13 different nationalities represented in the membership of this particular Mormon congregation.

I have also attended Mormon worship services in Brno, Uherské Hradiště, Plzeň and Zlín. With the exception of a family and a few individuals in Brno and of course the missionaries, who are constantly rotating in and out, it is rare to have representatives of other nationalities in these congregations that are disproportionate to local populations of foreigners. There are some Slovaks, Ukrainians, Russians and Mongolians mixed into these and other groups of Mormons in Czechia, but in terms of the overall portion of foreigners, the other congregations do not approach the diversity of the Prague Branch.

5.3.2 Interviews

I was not random in the selection of interview subjects. I intentionally selected congregation members that exhibited a relatively high level of participation in their respective religious community. Based on the premise that social capital is more readily available to active participants in a given social network and due to the fact that active participants will have a better feel for what is going on throughout their religious community, I feel that this is an appropriate way to more directly approach the issue in question.

For the Adventists, with whom I am not as well acquainted organizationally or individually, I selected interview subjects from among those present for Saturday worship services, when I visited the Prague-Smíchov and Hradec Králové Adventist Churches. In selecting interview subjects from among the active participants in Mormon congregations, I focused on the participants in two organized trips to the Mormon temple in Freiberg, Germany, which took place during March 2009. This allowed me to interview Mormons from several different

congregations and it served as a filter in helping me select active participants. As discussed above, only Mormons who are striving to maintain the lifestyle standards required for holding a temple recommend (i.e. Mormons who are actively participating in congregation activities) are allowed to enter a Mormon temple, after it has been dedicated (see footnote 11 above and *Mormon Messages: Why Mormons Build Temples* 2009).

I conducted a total of twelve²⁰ semi-structured interviews with Adventists and Mormons in Czechia and intentionally tried to achieve a balance in subjects, both in terms of gender and religious affiliation (see Table 11 below). My intent was to control for any potential differences based on the gender or religion of interview subjects and to reach a broader and, hopefully, more representative group. The twelve individuals in Table 11 represent five distinct congregations. Five of the Adventist interviewees belong to the Hradec Králové Adventist Church, while the remaining two Adventists (both brothers) attend services in Prague-Smíchov.

Table 11: Interview subjects by gender and church affiliation

Interview subjects	Adventist	Mormon	Total
Sisters	3	3	6
Brothers	4	2	6
Total	7	5	12

Three of the Mormon interviewees (one brother and two sisters) belong to the Prague Branch, one (a sister) represents the Uherské Hradiště Branch and the final interview subject (a Mormon brother) attends the Mormon congregation in Brno.

During the interviews themselves I always explained the concept of social capital with an example (the same example I used in the introduction to this thesis) and asked two general questions:

- How would you characterize relations within your congregation?
- What benefit(s) do/have relations or friendships within your church give/given you?

I encouraged interview subjects to provide their own specific examples of social capital at work among congregation members. Beyond these common elements, I allowed the interviews to develop according to the subjects' responses, which I recorded for subsequent review and comparison.

²⁰ I counted one interview, conducted with a married couple in Hradec Králové, twice (once in the "sister" row and once in the "brother" row) to arrive at this number.

While there were some differences in the interviewees' recorded responses, based on the religious affiliation, and to a lesser degree on the size and location, of their respective congregations, the main intent of the interviews was to understand the quality of social capital available to members of the religious communities in question. More interviews along with more refined methods of selection and qualitative research would be necessary to effectively explore such differences. These results should, therefore, be regarded as examples highlighting the type and quality of manifestations of social capital as well as the quality of Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia (in general) as sources of social capital for their actively participating members.

I recognized three common themes in analyzing the interview responses. These included comments on the strength and quality of social relations in the religious communities studied, instances of social capital contributing to the creation of human capital, and specific examples of voluntary service provided among Adventists or Mormons, respectively. I will discuss and develop these three themes with excerpts from the interviews.

Without exception, interview subjects viewed relations within their respective congregations very positively: "Relationships are very good. I look forward to seeing people every week and talking with them." "The proximity we feel, in terms of opinions/values, creates more trust and diminishes concerns that these people [fellow church members] are leading you in a bad direction." "Adventist friends seem more reliable... there is more trust."

"We have wonderful relationships in our branch. You can see the sincerity and love that long-time members of the church have for other people. This large branch here [Prague] is perhaps even better. There are more people and more groups with more diversity. In [České] Budějovice, we were more like a small family."

One interviewee spoke of the many social activities (programs, dances, dinners...) and weekly meetings, which aided him in creating lasting friendships and, incidentally, in meeting his wife. The same brother also spoke of his congregation as a source of good friends for his children, implying that children raised in a religious environment can generally be expected to have better moral values. From another brother: "We are a small church. We address one another informally, as an expression of close relationships, often using first names."

One respondent spoke of his church as "one large family," in which members from different cities meet together frequently. "We are all brothers, all around the world. It feels the same here, in a foreign country or in our homeland (this brother moved to Czechia from Russia eight years ago)." A different brother added that, within his church, "There are people from different social classes and it is good to learn how to work together with them." Two sisters spoke specifically of the way that a variety of generations come together and communicate within the religious community. "In the church it is really true that we can learn from one another. It is

wonderful how we can learn from the younger generation; not only that, but how the old can learn from the young and the young from the old.” An Adventist student from Sierra Leone remarked, “The congregation helps me feel at home.”

It is interesting to note how several different interviewees commented on the role that their respective religious communities play in bringing diverse people together. Portes (1998, p. 12) cites Granovetter (1974) and Burt (1992), respectively, in discussing the “strength of weak ties” and the concept of “structural holes,” both of which refer to the way that rather peripheral or diverse connections within social networks often yield disproportionately large amounts of social capital because they make available significant resources that would otherwise be inaccessible to an individual. In this way, the diversity of people (in terms of age, socio-economic status and nationality) brought together in Adventist and Mormon congregations, respectively, should be viewed as a key ingredient in the creation of social capital.

Coleman’s initial research (1988b), which introduced the term social capital to modern sociology, focused on its applications in creating human capital. The connections between these two types of capital are clearly evident, as the transfer of knowledge (including marketable skills: leadership, language, etc.) is one of the most basic functions of social networks.

“Having a calling, a leadership role, has really helped me...[in learning] how to lead, organize and work with others... that organizational leadership approach.” Two of the Mormon interview subjects specifically mentioned the improvement of English language skills as a benefit arising through relationships in their religious community. Due to relatively stronger cultural and organizational ties to the USA (see above), English language skills are perhaps a benefit more frequently arising from participation in Mormon communities in Czechia than in the country’s Adventist communities. However, improvements in communication skills in general, including language skills, are clearly a manifestation of the social capital resulting from participation in either of these churches in Czechia.

“Thanks to the sister missionaries and to other [church] members, I have opened up more to other people... I am not afraid of approaching and speaking with people I don’t know or with new members of the church. I have learned to be more open and more friendly... I have learned to take a stand in front of other people, I am not afraid to state my own opinion in front of others... I have developed my communication skills, I know how to listen better, to concentrate better; I learn new things more easily...”

The third area of interview responses that I will discuss includes specific examples of voluntary service provided among Adventists and Mormons, respectively, in Czechia. These services vary greatly, for example, from taking an old television to a waste collection yard, to assisting with schoolwork, to helping renovate a home. Several respondents spoke of church-organized meetings and/or help focused on everyday, practical concerns (lectures on family relations,

Kluby zdraví [healthy-living clubs] – practical advice for maintaining a healthy lifestyle (i.e. the NEW START program, see Slavíček et al. 2008), etc.).

“I think this is great social group. I know there are people I can rely on. I know that I can say, ‘Hey I need help with this or that’ and the help will come. I came to know that here in Prague. Whenever I needed something in renovating and finishing our house, there was always someone, who if he didn’t know how to do it, he knew someone who could do it. I have never encountered a situation, when I needed something that someone said ‘No, I won’t do that’ or ‘I won’t help you.’”

A sister from Russia: “When I moved here I needed a permanent address. A sister that I had barely met allowed me to live in her house and list it as my permanent address.”

“Four years ago I needed to find an apartment. A sister here helped us find a place. The same sister, recently, helped another family find a larger apartment.”

“As a preacher’s family, we often move. Members are always willing and happy to come and help us with packing, cleaning, whatever.”

“When I am able to, I help others as a doctor; on the other hand, I know people [within the church] with other professions and they help me, as well. ...Everyone knows how to do something and helps others.”

“If a bad situation were to occur, I know where I can turn for help. If I needed to find a specialist of some kind, I would search in the church first.”

“Whenever I need to move something heavy, for instance, I turn to friends [from the congregation]. I also visit those who are sick.”

“There is one sister that we call ‘babička [grandma],’ who plays with our children and watches them, so that I can exercise once a week in the morning.”

This small sampling of examples demonstrates some of the ways, in which Adventists and Mormons in Czechia utilize the social capital that is available to them as members of their respective religious communities. It is clear that, for these active participants, Adventist and Mormon congregations often play a significant role in the lives of their members and have the potential to serve as significant sources of social capital.

“I call this a chain reaction... I help you, but you don’t return the help to me, you return it to someone else and that someone else doesn’t return it to you, but passes it along to yet another person and it continues on. And that is the chain of help. When I know that I am helping others, I can expect that others will help me when I need something.”

6. Conclusion

By focusing on trust and participation as indicators of social capital potential (Mohan and Mohan 2002), this research has shown that Adventist and Mormon congregations in Czechia are, in fact, a viable source of social capital for their members. Adventists and Mormons in Czechia trust one another, within their respective congregations, significantly more than members of Czech society as a whole. The congregations of the two churches in question provide many opportunities for group members to associate with one another. Moreover, a variety of smaller, specialized groups, within the religious communities, facilitate closer relations with congregation members that have similar interests and needs. On the other hand, however, diversity in the congregations (in terms of socio-economic status, age, education, nationality, etc.) also effectively increases social capital potential, by bringing together a wide variety of resources that would be quite difficult for individual congregation members to access on their own.

Results from the survey, presented in this research, support my second hypothesis (see above), providing evidence for the existence of a positive correlation between a congregation's size (in terms of average attendance at worship services) and its strength as a source of social capital (derived from activity score, a measure of potential for participation) for its members. These results also hint at the existence of a critical congregation size, beyond which decreasing returns, in terms of this size-strength relationship, can be expected. Further research, especially on larger congregations (perhaps including large mega-churches) would be necessary to confirm this idea of critical congregation size.

I have presented considerable evidence to support my first hypothesis: This research demonstrates that social capital, or the accumulation of social capital through participation, can be seen as a significant benefit of belonging to an Adventist or Mormon congregation in Czechia. Based on the generalizing assumption that social capital could be an important benefit of membership in either the Seventh-day Adventist Church or the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, throughout the world (i.e. not only in Czechia), and considering Iannaccone's (1997 and 1998) religious applications of rational choice theory; the accumulation of social capital by church members can help explain, in a rational sense, the rapid growth and worldwide expansion of both Adventism and Mormonism.

It is also clear from the information presented on the historical diffusion and current distributions of Adventism and Mormonism that I can reject the null hypothesis (chapter 4.1 of this thesis), concerning similar growth and distribution for the two churches on the basis of their similarities, primarily the time and place of their origin. While Adventists are relatively more evenly distributed throughout the world, Mormons show a strong concentric distribution,

focused on the Mormon cultural region in the western United States (primarily Utah). In Europe, Adventists generally have stronger national positions (adherents as a percentage of total population) in the East, while Mormons exhibit a nearly opposite distribution with stronger positions in Western Europe. In Czechia, both churches have more congregations in Moravia and Silesia, combined, than in Bohemia, complementing the regional religious characteristics of Czech society.

6.1 Practical applications and suggestions for further research

A deeper understanding of the everyday benefits of belonging to a religious community, specifically to an Adventist or Mormon congregation, represents a fundamental application of this research. As discussed in the introduction, religious organizations continue to impact social and cultural processes in modern society, effectively refuting the secularization theory as proposed and promoted by early sociologists including Marx, Weber and Durkheim (Henkel 2006). It appears that religious organizations, with their significance cultural influences and social power, are not going to disappear, at least not in the near future. This holds true even for the most secular of modern societies, including Czechia (see Havlíček 2006).

The religious communities that are the focus of this research play a particularly strong role in the daily lives of their active participants. Public policymakers and proponents of civic engagement should take note of the way that Adventist and Mormon congregations encourage and reward active involvement, while effectively limiting opportunities for free-riding. Although such outcomes would be difficult to duplicate, without the religious framework and sense of community purpose that these congregations typically exhibit, I am certain that there are elements and principles that could be incorporated in public and private management.

The strong international ties that these congregations exhibit (especially Mormon connections to the western USA) and the cultural diversity that characterizes at least some of them (the Prague Branch of Mormons, for instance), bring to mind many questions concerning the relationship between religious involvement and international migration. Is it possible, for example, that Adventist or Mormons or the believers from other churches are more likely to migrate long distances, because they know that a congregation of trustworthy and helpful people (i.e. other Adventists, Mormons, etc.) could help them adjust to their new surroundings?

In connection with this diversity, but in a broader sense (age, socio-economic status, education, etc.), further research on the strength of “weak ties” in the creation of social capital could be very fruitful. Such diversity could be expected to reduce redundancy in social networks and provide a larger base of potential resources. Although very difficult to measure and evaluate, the concept of trust also provides many opportunities for sociological and geographic research (see Murphy 2006). In general, additional well-researched attempts to measure trust,

participation and other “soft” factors can only help our understanding of the inner workings of these powerful, but difficult to detect (and even more difficult to measure), forces.

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Appendix 1: Adventists by country

Countries are arranged according to their Adventist population. Columns (from left to right) include rank, country name, the region of the world in which the country is located, the country's total population in 2007 (CIA World Factbook), the total number of Adventists living in the country (145th Annual Statistical Report – 2007), the percentage of Adventists as a portion of the country's total population and a calculation of overall “Adventist density,” expressed as the number of Adventists per square kilometer.

Technical note: Due to restrictions in available data and GIS shapefiles, the populations of Taiwan and Hong Kong along with their Adventists and Mormons are grouped with China in these tables and in Figures 1, 2 and 3 above.

	COUNTRY	REGION	ADVENTIST	POPULATION	PERC_ADV	ADV_DENS
1	India	South Asia	1339606	1129866154	0.119	0.451
2	Brazil	South America	1331282	190010647	0.701	0.157
3	United States of America	North America	1000578	301139947	0.332	0.109
4	Peru	South America	769980	28674757	2.685	0.602
5	Kenya	Eastern Africa	609934	36913721	1.652	1.071
6	Mexico	Meso America	597540	108700891	0.550	0.311
7	Philippines	South East Asia	571653	91077287	0.628	1.917
8	Zambia	Southern Africa	567881	11477447	4.948	0.767
9	Zimbabwe	Southern Africa	534801	12311143	4.344	1.383
10	Dem. Republic of the Congo	Central Africa	507790	65751512	0.772	0.224
11	Rwanda	Eastern Africa	423358	9907509	4.273	16.970
12	United Republic of Tanzania	Southern Africa	384684	39384223	0.977	0.434
13	China	North East Asia	366213	1344710760	0.027	0.039
14	Ghana	Western Africa	335445	22931299	1.463	1.453
15	Angola	Southern Africa	327078	12263596	2.667	0.262
16	Haiti	Caribbean	315538	8706497	3.624	11.449
17	Malawi	Southern Africa	278752	13603181	2.049	2.963
18	Nigeria	Western Africa	257943	135031164	0.191	0.283
19	Colombia	South America	251290	44379598	0.566	0.242
20	Dominican Republic	Caribbean	242084	9365818	2.585	5.004
21	Papua New Guinea	South Pacific	237220	5795887	4.093	0.524
22	Jamaica	Caribbean	229595	2780132	8.258	21.198
23	Mozambique	Southern Africa	228463	20905585	1.093	0.291
24	Republic of Korea [South]	North East Asia	202651	49044790	0.413	2.064
25	Bolivia	South America	198259	9119152	2.174	0.183
26	Guatemala	Meso America	198238	12728111	1.557	1.828
27	Indonesia	South East Asia	190405	234693997	0.081	0.104
28	Honduras	Meso America	189670	7483763	2.534	1.695
29	Uganda	Eastern Africa	182323	30262610	0.602	0.913
30	Venezuela	South America	177530	26023528	0.682	0.201
31	El Salvador	Meso America	168933	6948073	2.431	8.153
32	Ethiopia	Eastern Africa	163524	76511887	0.214	0.146
33	Chile	South America	123412	16284741	0.758	0.165
34	Cameroon	Central Africa	105162	18060382	0.582	0.224
35	Burundi	Eastern Africa	104774	8390505	1.249	4.085
36	Madagascar	Western Indian	102132	19448815	0.525	0.176
37	Argentina	South America	99255	40301927	0.246	0.036
38	Nicaragua	Meso America	92474	5675356	1.629	0.769
39	South Africa	Southern Africa	84521	43997828	0.192	0.069

40	Panama	Meso America	81481	3242173	2.513	1.072
41	Ecuador	South America	74096	13755680	0.539	0.268
42	Romania	Central Europe	68860	22276056	0.309	0.299
43	Trinidad and Tobago	Caribbean	61273	1056608	5.799	11.949
44	Ukraine	Eastern Europe	61151	46299862	0.132	0.101
45	Canada	North America	57770	33390141	0.173	0.006
46	Costa Rica	Meso America	57647	4133884	1.394	1.138
47	Australia	Australia + New	53475	20434176	0.262	0.007
48	Russian Federation	Eastern Europe	51875	141377752	0.037	0.003
49	Guyana	South America	50977	769095	6.628	0.259
50	Malaysia	South East Asia	48854	24821286	0.197	0.149
51	Solomon Islands	South Pacific	36654	566842	6.466	1.331
52	Puerto Rico	Caribbean	36442	3944259	0.924	4.108
53	Germany	Western Europe	35925	82400996	0.044	0.103
54	Belize	Meso America	31215	294385	10.603	1.369
55	Botswana	Southern Africa	27921	1815508	1.538	0.048
56	U.K. of Great Britain and N. Ireland	Western Europe	27902	60776238	0.046	0.115
57	Cuba	Caribbean	27556	11394043	0.242	0.249
58	Bangladesh	South Asia	27196	150448339	0.018	0.203
59	Fiji	South Pacific	27050	918675	2.944	1.481
60	Myanmar	South East Asia	25786	47373958	0.054	0.039
61	Liberia	Western Africa	23484	3195931	0.735	0.244
62	Barbados	Caribbean	17612	280946	6.269	40.863
63	Sierra Leone	Western Africa	16855	6144562	0.274	0.235
64	Bahamas	Caribbean	16674	305655	5.455	1.656
65	Vanuatu	South Pacific	16650	211971	7.855	1.365
66	Namibia	Southern Africa	16625	2055080	0.809	0.020
67	Japan	North East Asia	15213	127433494	0.012	0.041
68	Martinique	Caribbean	14721	402000	3.662	13.051
69	Sudan	Northern Africa	14674	39379358	0.037	0.006
70	Saint Lucia	Caribbean	14629	170649	8.573	24.140
71	Paraguay	South America	14545	6669086	0.218	0.037
72	Spain	Western Europe	13878	40448191	0.034	0.028
73	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Caribbean	13296	118149	11.254	34.180
74	Grenada	Caribbean	12369	89971	13.748	35.956
75	Thailand	South East Asia	12083	65068149	0.019	0.024
76	Guadeloupe	Caribbean	11994	405500	2.958	7.367
77	France	Western Europe	11916	62106000	0.019	0.019
78	Pakistan	South Asia	11396	164741924	0.007	0.015
79	New Zealand	Australia + New	11213	4115771	0.272	0.042
80	Moldova, Republic of	Eastern Europe	11208	4320490	0.259	0.336
81	Cote d'Ivoire	Western Africa	11186	18013409	0.062	0.035
82	Togo	Western Africa	10272	5701579	0.180	0.189
83	Portugal	Western Europe	9180	10642836	0.086	0.100
84	Viet Nam	South East Asia	9077	85262356	0.011	0.028
85	Central African Republic	Central Africa	9032	4369038	0.207	0.014
86	Italy	Western Europe	8343	58147733	0.014	0.028
87	Netherlands Antilles	Caribbean	8012	223652	3.582	8.346
88	Antigua and Barbuda	Caribbean	7927	69481	11.409	17.910
89	United States Virgin Islands	Caribbean	7886	108448	7.272	22.792

90	Bulgaria	Central Europe	7616	7322858	0.104	0.069
91	Czech Republic	Central Europe	7555	10228744	0.074	0.098
92	Uruguay	South America	6877	3460607	0.199	0.040
93	Serbia	Central Europe	6794	10150265	0.067	0.077
94	Dominica	Caribbean	6543	72386	9.039	8.678
95	Cape Verde	Western Africa	6019	423613	1.421	1.492
96	Nepal	South Asia	6009	28901790	0.021	0.042
97	Poland	Central Europe	5762	38518241	0.015	0.019
98	Lesotho	Southern Africa	5757	2125262	0.271	0.190
99	Cambodia	South East Asia	5520	13995904	0.039	0.031
100	Samoa	South Pacific	5285	214265	2.467	1.801
101	Finland	Western Europe	5140	5238460	0.098	0.017
102	Belarus	Eastern Europe	5079	9724723	0.052	0.024
103	French Polynesia	South Pacific	4833	278963	1.732	1.320
104	Swaziland	Southern Africa	4748	1133066	0.419	0.276
105	Hungary	Central Europe	4715	9956108	0.047	0.051
106	Norway	Western Europe	4656	4627926	0.101	0.015
107	Netherlands	Western Europe	4524	16570613	0.027	0.134
108	Switzerland	Western Europe	4365	7554661	0.058	0.110
109	Benin	Western Africa	4238	8078314	0.052	0.038
110	Mauritius	Western Indian	3953	1250882	0.316	1.947
111	Bermuda	Caribbean	3947	66163	5.966	74.053
112	Latvia	Central Europe	3928	2259810	0.174	0.062
113	Austria	Western Europe	3823	8199783	0.047	0.046
114	Cayman Islands	Caribbean	3692	46600	7.923	14.092
115	Sri Lanka	South Asia	3626	20926315	0.017	0.056
116	Suriname	South America	3616	470784	0.768	0.022
117	Burkina Faso	Western Africa	3305	14326203	0.023	0.012
118	Chad	Central Africa	3276	9885661	0.033	0.003
119	Kazakhstan	Central Asia	3186	15284929	0.021	0.001
120	Gabon	Central Africa	3183	1454867	0.219	0.012
121	Croatia	Central Europe	3015	4493312	0.067	0.053
122	Sweden	Western Europe	2763	9031088	0.031	0.007
123	Denmark	Western Europe	2523	5468120	0.046	0.060
124	Singapore	South East Asia	2486	4553009	0.055	3.641
125	French Guiana	South America	2293	221500	1.035	0.027
126	Tonga	South Pacific	2239	116921	1.915	3.118
127	Slovakia	Central Europe	2222	5447502	0.041	0.046
128	Equatorial Guinea	Central Africa	2208	551201	0.401	0.079
129	Sao Tome and Principe	Central Africa	2188	199579	1.096	2.186
130	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Caribbean	2049	39349	5.207	7.851
131	Belgium	Western Europe	2024	10392226	0.019	0.067
132	Guinea-Bissau	Western Africa	1964	1472780	0.133	0.070
133	Kiribati	South Pacific	1958	107817	1.816	2.414
134	American Samoa	South Pacific	1797	57663	3.116	9.030
135	Estonia	Central Europe	1711	1315912	0.130	0.040
136	Turks and Caicos Islands	Caribbean	1622	21746	7.459	3.772
137	Lao People's Democratic Republic	South East Asia	1467	6521998	0.022	0.006
138	Mali	Western Africa	1440	11995402	0.012	0.001
139	Reunion	Western Indian	1397	802000	0.174	0.556

140	British Virgin Islands	Caribbean	1378	23552	5.851	9.007
141	Uzbekistan	Central Asia	1236	27780059	0.004	0.003
142	Mongolia	North East Asia	1202	2951786	0.041	0.001
143	Guam	South Pacific	1191	173456	0.687	2.200
144	Kyrgyzstan	Central Asia	1159	5284149	0.022	0.006
145	Montserrat	Caribbean	1159	9538	12.151	11.363
146	Micronesia (Federated States of)	South Pacific	1112	107862	1.031	1.584
147	Gambia	Western Africa	1102	1688359	0.065	0.110
148	Guinea	Western Africa	1096	9947814	0.011	0.004
149	Armenia	Eastern Europe	918	2971650	0.031	0.032
150	Lithuania	Central Europe	884	3575439	0.025	0.014
151	Dem. People's Rep. of Korea [North]	North East Asia	866	23301725	0.004	0.007
152	Palau	South Pacific	861	20842	4.131	1.880
153	Israel	Western Europe	833	6426679	0.013	0.041
154	Seychelles	Western Indian	827	81895	1.010	1.818
155	Anguilla	Caribbean	751	13677	5.491	7.363
156	Egypt	Northern Africa	740	80335036	0.001	0.001
157	Azerbaijan	Eastern Europe	714	8120247	0.009	0.008
158	Cook Islands	South Pacific	706	21750	3.246	2.983
159	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Central Europe	695	4552198	0.015	0.014
160	Tajikistan	Central Asia	690	7076598	0.010	0.005
161	Aruba	Caribbean	673	100018	0.673	3.487
162	New Caledonia	South Pacific	665	221943	0.300	0.036
163	Marshall Islands	South Pacific	649	61815	1.050	3.580
164	Congo	Central Africa	595	3800610	0.016	0.002
165	Macedonia	Central Europe	591	2061350	0.029	0.024
166	Iceland	Western Europe	561	301931	0.186	0.006
167	Slovenia	Central Europe	533	2009245	0.027	0.026
168	Eritrea	Eastern Africa	516	4906585	0.011	0.004
169	Greece	Western Europe	505	10706290	0.005	0.004
170	Senegal	Western Africa	472	12521851	0.004	0.002
171	Lebanon	Mashriq	396	3925502	0.010	0.039
172	Georgia	Eastern Europe	381	4646003	0.008	0.005
173	Albania	Central Europe	301	3600523	0.008	0.011
174	United Arab Emirates	Arabian Peninsula	278	4444011	0.006	0.003
175	Montenegro	Central Europe	253	684736	0.037	0.018
176	Northern Mariana Islands	South Pacific	220	84546	0.260	0.461
177	Niger	Western Africa	213	12894865	0.002	0.000
178	Timor-Leste	South East Asia	208	1084971	0.019	0.014
179	Ireland	Western Europe	202	4109086	0.005	0.003
180	Iraq	Mashriq	172	27499638	0.001	0.000
181	Kuwait	Arabian Peninsula	164	2505559	0.007	0.009
182	Jordan	Mashriq	162	6053193	0.003	0.002
183	Tuvalu	South Pacific	139	11992	1.159	5.346
184	Saint Helena	Southern Africa	81	7543	1.074	0.196
185	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	Northern Africa	80	6036914	0.001	0.000
186	Turkmenistan	Central Asia	79	5097028	0.002	0.000
187	Turkey	Central Europe	74	71158647	0.000	0.000
188	Cyprus	Central Europe	71	788457	0.009	0.008
189	Luxembourg	Western Europe	66	480222	0.014	0.026

190	Faroe Islands	Western Europe	62	47511	0.130	0.044
191	Qatar	Arabian Peninsula	58	907229	0.006	0.005
192	Oman	Arabian Peninsula	44	3204897	0.001	0.000
193	Norfolk Island	South Pacific	43	2114	2.034	1.243
194	Bahrain	Arabian Peninsula	42	708573	0.006	0.063
195	Algeria	Northern Africa	33	33333216	0.000	0.000
196	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	South Asia	24	65397521	0.000	0.000
197	Tunisia	Northern Africa	23	10276158	0.000	0.000
198	Pitcairn Island	South Pacific	22	48	45.833	0.468
199	Nauru	South Pacific	20	13528	0.148	0.952
200	Malta	Western Europe	18	401880	0.004	0.057
201	Andorra	Western Europe	8	71822	0.011	0.017
202	Gibraltar	Western Europe	6	27967	0.021	0.923
203	Niue	South Pacific	6	1492	0.402	0.023
204	Morocco	Northern Africa	4	33757175	0.000	0.000
205	Afghanistan	South Asia	4	31889923	0.000	0.000
206	Mauritania	Western Africa	4	3270065	0.000	0.000
207	Tokelau	South Pacific	4	1449	0.276	0.400
	Saudi Arabia	Arabian Peninsula	0	27601038	0	0
	Yemen	Arabian Peninsula	0	22230531	0	0
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mashriq	0	19314747	0	0
	Somalia	Eastern Africa	0	9118773	0	0
	Occupied Palestinian Territory	Mashriq	0	3907883	0	0
	Bhutan	South Asia	0	2327849	0	0
	Comoros	Western Indian	0	711417	0	0
	Djibouti	Eastern Africa	0	496374	0	0
	Western Sahara	Northern Africa	0	382617	0	0
	Brunei Darussalam	South East Asia	0	374577	0	0
	Maldives	South Asia	0	369031	0	0
	Mayotte	Western Indian	0	208783	0	0
	Jersey	Western Europe	0	91321	0	0
	Isle of Man	Western Europe	0	75831	0	0
	Guernsey	Western Europe	0	65573	0	0
	Greenland	Arctic	0	56344	0	0
	Liechtenstein	Western Europe	0	34247	0	0
	Monaco	Western Europe	0	32671	0	0
	San Marino	Western Europe	0	29615	0	0
	Wallis and Futuna	South Pacific	0	16309	0	0
	Saint Pierre and Miquelon	North America	0	7036	0	0
	Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	South America	0	3105	0	0
	Svalbard and Jan Mayen Islands	Western Europe	0	2214	0	0
	Christmas Island	South East Asia	0	1402	0	0
	Holy See	Western Europe	0	821	0	0
	Cocos (Keeling) Islands	South Pacific	0	596	0	0

Appendix 2: Mormons by country

Countries are arranged according to their Mormon population. Columns (from left to right) include rank, country name, the region of the world in which the country is located, the country's total population in 2007 (CIA World Factbook), the total number of Mormons living in the country (145th Annual Statistical Report for 2007), the percentage of Mormons as a portion of the country's total population and a calculation of overall "Mormon density," expressed as the number of Adventists per square kilometer.

Technical note: Due to restrictions in available data and GIS shapefiles, the populations of Taiwan and Hong Kong, along with their Adventists and Mormons, are grouped with China in these tables and in Figures 1, 2 and 3 above.

	NAME	REGION	MORMON	POPULATION	PERC_MOR	MORM_DE
1	United States of America	North America	5873408	301139947	1.950	0.641
2	Mexico	Meso America	1121893	108700891	1.032	0.583
3	Brazil	South America	1019153	190010647	0.536	0.121
4	Philippines	South East Asia	594655	91077287	0.653	1.994
5	Chile	South America	548743	16284741	3.370	0.733
6	Peru	South America	448903	28674757	1.565	0.351
7	Argentina	South America	363990	40301927	0.903	0.133
8	Guatemala	Meso America	210101	12728111	1.651	1.938
9	U.K. of Great Britain and N. Ireland	Western Europe	181756	60776238	0.299	0.752
10	Ecuador	South America	181463	13755680	1.319	0.655
11	Canada	North America	178102	33390141	0.533	0.020
12	Colombia	South America	158954	44379598	0.358	0.153
13	Bolivia	South America	158427	9119152	1.737	0.146
14	Venezuela	South America	141563	26023528	0.544	0.160
15	Honduras	Meso America	125606	7483763	1.678	1.123
16	Japan	North East Asia	122422	127433494	0.096	0.327
17	Australia	Australia + New	119975	20434176	0.587	0.016
18	Dominican Republic	Caribbean	106243	9365818	1.134	2.196
19	El Salvador	Meso America	98575	6948073	1.419	4.757
20	New Zealand	Australia + New	97474	4115771	2.368	0.364
21	Uruguay	South America	90292	3460607	2.609	0.520
22	Nigeria	Western Africa	83919	135031164	0.062	0.092
23	Republic of Korea [South]	North East Asia	80421	49044790	0.164	0.819
24	Paraguay	South America	71531	6669086	1.073	0.180
25	China	North East Asia	71164	1344710760	0.005	0.008
26	Samoa	South Pacific	66249	214265	30.919	22.580
27	Nicaragua	Meso America	59886	5675356	1.055	0.498
28	Tonga	South Pacific	54281	116921	46.425	75.600
29	South Africa	Southern Africa	45981	43997828	0.105	0.038
30	Spain	Western Europe	42873	40448191	0.106	0.086
31	Panama	Meso America	42606	3242173	1.314	0.561
32	Portugal	Western Europe	38100	10642836	0.358	0.414
33	Germany	Western Europe	37159	82400996	0.045	0.106
34	Ghana	Western Africa	36242	22931299	0.158	0.157
35	Costa Rica	Meso America	35647	4133884	0.862	0.704
36	France	Western Europe	34638	62106000	0.056	0.054
37	Italy	Western Europe	22633	58147733	0.039	0.077

38	Puerto Rico	Caribbean	19808	3944259	0.502	2.233
39	French Polynesia	South Pacific	19711	278963	7.066	5.386
40	Russian Federation	Eastern Europe	19543	141377752	0.014	0.001
41	Dem. Republic of the Congo	Central Africa	19313	65751512	0.029	0.009
42	Zimbabwe	Southern Africa	16969	12311143	0.138	0.044
43	Papua New Guinea	South Pacific	16060	5795887	0.277	0.035
44	Thailand	South East Asia	15457	65068149	0.024	0.030
45	Fiji	South Pacific	14866	918675	1.618	0.814
46	American Samoa	South Pacific	14514	57663	25.170	72.935
47	Haiti	Caribbean	14493	8706497	0.166	0.526
48	Cote d'Ivoire	Western Africa	12463	18013409	0.069	0.039
49	Kiribati	South Pacific	12446	107817	11.544	15.347
50	Ukraine	Eastern Europe	10394	46299862	0.022	0.017
51	Sweden	Western Europe	8830	9031088	0.098	0.021
52	Netherlands	Western Europe	8548	16570613	0.052	0.252
53	Cambodia	South East Asia	8188	13995904	0.059	0.046
54	Kenya	Eastern Africa	8124	36913721	0.022	0.014
55	Switzerland	Western Europe	7875	7554661	0.104	0.198
56	Mongolia	North East Asia	7721	2951786	0.262	0.005
57	Sierra Leone	Western Africa	7657	6144562	0.125	0.107
58	India	South Asia	7008	1129866154	0.001	0.002
59	Cape Verde	Western Africa	6709	423613	1.584	1.664
60	Indonesia	South East Asia	6256	234693997	0.003	0.003
61	Belgium	Western Europe	6029	10392226	0.058	0.199
62	Jamaica	Caribbean	5811	2780132	0.209	0.537
63	Liberia	Western Africa	4910	3195931	0.154	0.051
64	Uganda	Eastern Africa	4701	30262610	0.016	0.024
65	Malaysia	South East Asia	4626	24821286	0.019	0.014
66	Marshall Islands	South Pacific	4623	61815	7.479	25.499
67	Finland	Western Europe	4533	5238460	0.087	0.015
68	Hungary	Central Europe	4380	9956108	0.044	0.047
69	Denmark	Western Europe	4343	5468120	0.079	0.102
70	Mozambique	Southern Africa	4216	20905585	0.020	0.005
71	Austria	Western Europe	4176	8199783	0.051	0.051
72	Madagascar	Western Indian	4160	19448815	0.021	0.007
73	Norway	Western Europe	4126	4627926	0.089	0.013
74	Congo	Central Africa	3974	3800610	0.105	0.012
75	Micronesia (Federated States of)	South Pacific	3754	107862	3.480	5.348
76	Vanuatu	South Pacific	3521	211971	1.661	0.289
77	Belize	Meso America	3306	294385	1.123	0.145
78	Ireland	Western Europe	2805	4109086	0.068	0.041
79	Singapore	South East Asia	2723	4553009	0.060	3.989
80	Romania	Central Europe	2672	22276056	0.012	0.012
81	Armenia	Eastern Europe	2650	2971650	0.089	0.093
82	Guyana	South America	2572	769095	0.334	0.013
83	Trinidad and Tobago	Caribbean	2271	1056608	0.215	0.443
84	Bulgaria	Central Europe	2142	7322858	0.029	0.019
85	Zambia	Southern Africa	2095	11477447	0.018	0.003

86	Czech Republic	Central Europe	2028	10228744	0.020	0.026
87	New Caledonia	South Pacific	1828	221943	0.824	0.098
88	Cook Islands	South Pacific	1803	21750	8.290	7.617
89	Albania	Central Europe	1730	3600523	0.048	0.063
90	Guam	South Pacific	1690	173456	0.974	3.122
91	Poland	Central Europe	1527	38518241	0.004	0.005
92	Sri Lanka	South Asia	1228	20926315	0.006	0.019
93	Swaziland	Southern Africa	1049	1133066	0.093	0.061
94	Botswana	Southern Africa	1032	1815508	0.057	0.002
95	Latvia	Central Europe	966	2259810	0.043	0.015
96	Estonia	Central Europe	927	1315912	0.070	0.021
97	United Republic of Tanzania	Southern Africa	879	39384223	0.002	0.001
98	Netherlands Antilles	Caribbean	850	223652	0.380	0.885
99	Suriname	South America	847	470784	0.180	0.005
100	Lithuania	Central Europe	833	3575439	0.023	0.013
101	Ethiopia	Eastern Africa	784	76511887	0.001	0.001
102	Northern Mariana Islands	South Pacific	777	84546	0.919	1.629
103	Bahamas	Caribbean	774	305655	0.253	0.077
104	Reunion	Western Indian	773	802000	0.096	0.308
105	Angola	Southern Africa	759	12263596	0.006	0.001
106	Togo	Western Africa	733	5701579	0.013	0.013
107	Malawi	Southern Africa	705	13603181	0.005	0.007
108	Barbados	Caribbean	669	280946	0.238	1.552
109	Greece	Western Europe	661	10706290	0.006	0.005
110	Cameroon	Central Africa	639	18060382	0.004	0.001
111	Lesotho	Southern Africa	576	2125262	0.027	0.019
112	United States Virgin Islands	Caribbean	530	108448	0.489	1.532
113	Namibia	Southern Africa	506	2055080	0.025	0.001
114	Croatia	Central Europe	503	4493312	0.011	0.009
115	Palau	South Pacific	426	20842	2.044	0.930
116	Aruba	Caribbean	416	100018	0.416	2.155
117	Central African Republic	Central Africa	396	4369038	0.009	0.001
118	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Caribbean	384	118149	0.325	0.987
119	Mauritius	Western Indian	368	1250882	0.029	0.181
120	Guadeloupe	Caribbean	356	405500	0.088	0.219
121	Slovenia	Central Europe	352	2009245	0.018	0.017
122	Cyprus	Central Europe	303	788457	0.038	0.033
123	French Guiana	South America	287	221500	0.130	0.003
124	Jersey	Western Europe	286	91321	0.313	2.466
125	Luxembourg	Western Europe	285	480222	0.059	0.110
126	Isle of Man	Western Europe	283	75831	0.373	0.495
127	Serbia	Central Europe	275	10150265	0.003	0.003
128	Moldova, Republic of	Eastern Europe	264	4320490	0.006	0.008
129	Niue	South Pacific	253	1492	16.957	0.973
130	Iceland	Western Europe	250	301931	0.083	0.002
131	Solomon Islands	South Pacific	231	566842	0.041	0.008
132	Benin	Western Africa	216	8078314	0.003	0.002
133	Turkey	Central Europe	198	71158647	0.000	0.000

134	Grenada	Caribbean	176	89971	0.196	0.512
135	Antigua and Barbuda	Caribbean	161	69481	0.232	0.364
136	Martinique	Caribbean	156	402000	0.039	0.138
137	Georgia	Eastern Europe	153	4646003	0.003	0.002
138	Bermuda	Caribbean	131	66163	0.198	2.458
139	Kazakhstan	Central Asia	125	15284929	0.001	0.000
140	Slovakia	Central Europe	124	5447502	0.002	0.003
141	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Caribbean	120	39349	0.305	0.460
142	Cayman Islands	Caribbean	118	46600	0.253	0.450
143	Saint Lucia	Caribbean	113	170649	0.066	0.186
144	Tuvalu	South Pacific	113	11992	0.942	4.346
145	Nauru	South Pacific	110	13528	0.813	5.238
146	Andorra	Western Europe	89	71822	0.124	0.190
147	British Virgin Islands	Caribbean	75	23552	0.318	0.490
148	Guernsey	Western Europe	41	65573	0.063	0.526
149	Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	South America	4	3105	0.129	0.000
	Pakistan	South Asia	0	164741924	0	0
	Bangladesh	South Asia	0	150448339	0	0
	Viet Nam	South East Asia	0	85262356	0	0
	Egypt	Northern Africa	0	80335036	0	0
	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	South Asia	0	65397521	0	0
	Myanmar	South East Asia	0	47373958	0	0
	Sudan	Northern Africa	0	39379358	0	0
	Morocco	Northern Africa	0	33757175	0	0
	Algeria	Northern Africa	0	33333216	0	0
	Afghanistan	South Asia	0	31889923	0	0
	Nepal	South Asia	0	28901790	0	0
	Uzbekistan	Central Asia	0	27780059	0	0
	Saudi Arabia	Arabian Peninsula	0	27601038	0	0
	Iraq	Mashriq	0	27499638	0	0
	Dem. People's Rep. of Korea [North]	North East Asia	0	23301725	0	0
	Yemen	Arabian Peninsula	0	22230531	0	0
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mashriq	0	19314747	0	0
	Burkina Faso	Western Africa	0	14326203	0	0
	Niger	Western Africa	0	12894865	0	0
	Senegal	Western Africa	0	12521851	0	0
	Mali	Western Africa	0	11995402	0	0
	Cuba	Caribbean	0	11394043	0	0
	Tunisia	Northern Africa	0	10276158	0	0
	Guinea	Western Africa	0	9947814	0	0
	Rwanda	Eastern Africa	0	9907509	0	0
	Chad	Central Africa	0	9885661	0	0
	Belarus	Eastern Europe	0	9724723	0	0
	Somalia	Eastern Africa	0	9118773	0	0
	Burundi	Eastern Africa	0	8390505	0	0
	Azerbaijan	Eastern Europe	0	8120247	0	0
	Tajikistan	Central Asia	0	7076598	0	0
	Lao People's Democratic Republic	South East Asia	0	6521998	0	0

	Israel	Western Europe	0	6426679	0	0
	Jordan	Mashriq	0	6053193	0	0
	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	Northern Africa	0	6036914	0	0
	Kyrgyzstan	Central Asia	0	5284149	0	0
	Turkmenistan	Central Asia	0	5097028	0	0
	Eritrea	Eastern Africa	0	4906585	0	0
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Central Europe	0	4552198	0	0
	United Arab Emirates	Arabian Peninsula	0	4444011	0	0
	Lebanon	Mashriq	0	3925502	0	0
	Occupied Palestinian Territory	Mashriq	0	3907883	0	0
	Mauritania	Western Africa	0	3270065	0	0
	Oman	Arabian Peninsula	0	3204897	0	0
	Kuwait	Arabian Peninsula	0	2505559	0	0
	Bhutan	South Asia	0	2327849	0	0
	Macedonia	Central Europe	0	2061350	0	0
	Gambia	Western Africa	0	1688359	0	0
	Guinea-Bissau	Western Africa	0	1472780	0	0
	Gabon	Central Africa	0	1454867	0	0
	Timor-Leste	South East Asia	0	1084971	0	0
	Qatar	Arabian Peninsula	0	907229	0	0
	Comoros	Western Indian	0	711417	0	0
	Bahrain	Arabian Peninsula	0	708573	0	0
	Montenegro	Central Europe	0	684736	0	0
	Equatorial Guinea	Central Africa	0	551201	0	0
	Djibouti	Eastern Africa	0	496374	0	0
	Malta	Western Europe	0	401880	0	0
	Western Sahara	Northern Africa	0	382617	0	0
	Brunei Darussalam	South East Asia	0	374577	0	0
	Maldives	South Asia	0	369031	0	0
	Mayotte	Western Indian	0	208783	0	0
	Sao Tome and Principe	Central Africa	0	199579	0	0
	Seychelles	Western Indian	0	81895	0	0
	Dominica	Caribbean	0	72386	0	0
	Greenland	Arctic	0	56344	0	0
	Faroe Islands	Western Europe	0	47511	0	0
	Liechtenstein	Western Europe	0	34247	0	0
	Monaco	Western Europe	0	32671	0	0
	San Marino	Western Europe	0	29615	0	0
	Gibraltar	Western Europe	0	27967	0	0
	Turks and Caicos Islands	Caribbean	0	21746	0	0
	Wallis and Futuna	South Pacific	0	16309	0	0
	Anguilla	Caribbean	0	13677	0	0
	Montserrat	Caribbean	0	9538	0	0
	Saint Helena	Southern Africa	0	7543	0	0
	Saint Pierre and Miquelon	North America	0	7036	0	0
	Svalbard and Jan Mayen Islands	Western Europe	0	2214	0	0
	Norfolk Island	South Pacific	0	2114	0	0
	Tokelau	South Pacific	0	1449	0	0

	Christmas Island	South East Asia	0	1402	0	0
	Holy See	Western Europe	0	821	0	0
	Cocos (Keeling) Islands	South Pacific	0	596	0	0
	Pitcairn Island	South Pacific	0	48	0	0

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for congregations

This is the complete questionnaire as it was sent to the 183 congregations (both Adventist and Mormon) in Czechia. An English translation of the questionnaire is included first, followed by the original, Czech version.

Questionnaire on social capital in religious groups

To Whom It May Concern:

My name is Daniel Reeves and I am a student of social geography at Charles University's Faculty of Science. I have prepared the following questionnaire, concerning manifestations of social capital within religious communities in Czechia as a way to collect data necessary for my master's thesis.

I ask you for a moment of your time to duly complete the questionnaire and that you send me the questionnaire, as you have completed it.

To clarify a little more: Social capital is a term used in sociology to describe the benefit or profit (something like financial capital) that people have at their disposal, on the basis of their membership in a social network or group. As you will see, this questionnaire focuses on the active participation of individuals and mutual trust within a group, specifically in your congregation.

If you have any questions, feel free to contact me directly:

Daniel Reeves 774 969 082 e-mail: danvreeves@gmail.com

or to contact my thesis advisor:

RNDr. Tomáš Havlíček, Ph.D. 221 95 1424 e-mail: tomhav@natur.cuni.cz

1. Name and location of the congregation (these data could be identical):

1.1 When was the congregation established?

If its activities were interrupted for any length of time, please indicate for how long and why.

2. On average, how many people in your congregation attend weekly worship services?

3. What types of additional events do you hold, which do not take place on Saturday/Sunday (by this, I mean regular activities, once a week, once a month)?

-What is the average attendance at these events?

4. What types of events do you hold less frequently (once in several months time, irregularly, etc.)?

5. Do you know of any other unofficial events, organized and carried out by members of your congregation, in which they meet together outside of worship services? (A yes/no answer is sufficient, but I would welcome any additional information)

6. Do lay members of your congregation participate in the preparation and implementation of worship services?

If yes, in what ways?

7. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

___ Most people can be trusted

___ Can't be too careful

8. Generally speaking, would you say that most people **in your congregation** can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people **in your congregation**?

___ Most people **in the congregation** can be trusted

___ **in our congregation**, one can't be too careful

9. What specific examples of assistance are you aware of, wherein members of your congregation voluntarily serve one another (in matters that are not church-related)? (Please use the following numerical ranking system to express the frequency of all of these types of assistance, according to your observations:)

1 = *very often* 2 = *often* 3 = *sometimes* 4 = *rarely* 5 = *never*

9.1 ___ help in looking for work

9.2 ___ help in finding housing

9.3 ___ financial assistance

9.4 ___ legal aid or advice

9.5 ___ tending children or help in the household

9.6 ___ members preferentially using the services of entrepreneurs within the congregation
(accounting, translations, construction projects, etc.)

9.7 ___ other (please specify: _____)

10. How would you characterize the help that is provided within the congregation?

(Please select one of the descriptions listed below:)

☐ A small number of members help others a great deal, while the remainder of the congregation's members are not as involved (in other words: there are many recipients of help and few helpers)

☐ Many members are helping and many receive help (many recipients of help as well as many helpers).

☐ There is a small number of both helpers and recipients of help

☐ There is a large number of helpers and a small number of recipients of help.

11. Recent Development in congregation activity:

Describe any recent developments concerning participation in congregational activities within the last year (for example, if participation is increasing/declining/remaining constant, etc.)

Thank you very much for your time and assistance! Have a beautiful day!

If you would like to share anything else with me, concerning this research, you may use the space provided here:

Dotazník na sociální kapitál v rámci náboženských skupin

Dobrý den vážení:

jmenuji se Daniel Reeves a jsem studentem sociální geografie na Přírodovědecké fakultě UK. Připravil jsem následující dotazník ohledně projevů sociálního kapitálu v rámci náboženských komunit v Česku k tomu, abych sbíral potřebné údaje pro svoji diplomovou práci.

Prosím Vás o chvíli vašeho času k řádnému vyplnění tohoto dotazníku a abyste mi zpětně poslal(a) Vámi vyplněný dotazník.

Abyste věděli o co se tady jedná: Sociální kapitál je sociologický pojem, který naznačuje přínos (dokonce jako finanční kapitál), který lidé mají k dispozici, na základě jejich členství v nějaké sociální síti či skupině. Jak uvidíte, tento dotazník se zaměřuje na aktivní účast lidí a vzájemnou důvěru ve skupině, konkrétně ve vašem sboru.

V případě jakéhokoliv dotazu, můžete se obrátit na mně přímo:

Daniel Reeves 774 969 082 e-mail: danvreeves@gmail.com

anebo na vedoucího mé diplomové práci:

RNDr. Tomáš Havlíček, Ph.D. 221 95 1424 e-mail: tomhav@natur.cuni.cz

* Required

1. Název i lokalita sboru: *

(možná tyto údaje budou totožné)

11/11/2019

1.1 Kdy vznikl tento sbor?

Pokud byla jeho aktivita dočasně přerušena, uveďte prosím na jak dlouho a proč.

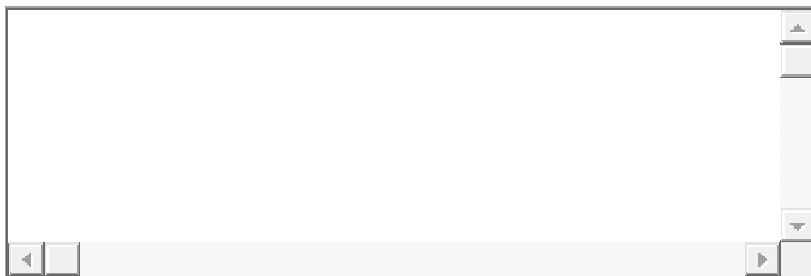
A large empty rectangular box with a light gray border, intended for drawing a diagram. The box is mostly empty, with a few small gray squares visible along the bottom edge, likely representing a toolbar or navigation controls.

2. Kolik lidí ve vašem sboru se v průměru účastní týdenních bohoslužeb?

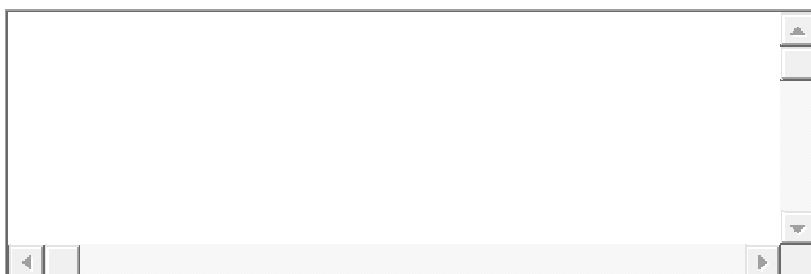
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3. Jaké další akce pořádáte mimo sobotu (tím myslím pravidelné, jednou za týden, jednou za měsíc)?

-Jaká je průměrná účast na těchto akcích?

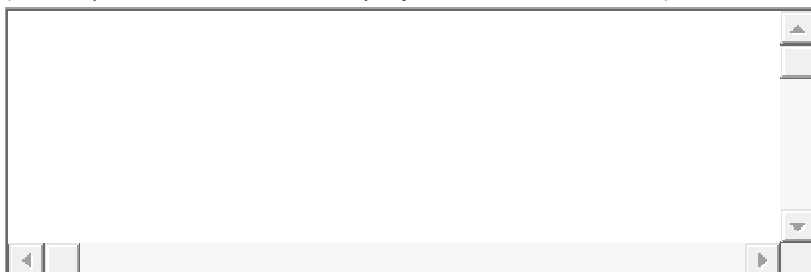
A large rectangular text input field with a light gray border. On the right side, there are three small square buttons stacked vertically. On the bottom left, there are two small square buttons, and on the bottom right, there is one small square button.

4. Jaké akce pořádáte s menší četností (jednou za několik měsíců, nepravidelné, atd.)?

A large rectangular text input field with a light gray border. On the right side, there are three small square buttons stacked vertically. On the bottom left, there are two small square buttons, and on the bottom right, there is one small square button.

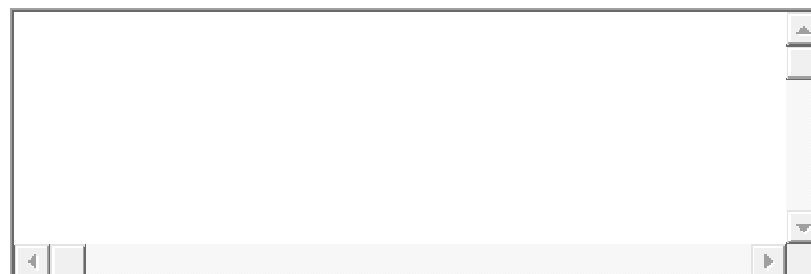
5. Znáte nějaké jiné neoficiální akce, organizované a pořádané členy Vašeho sboru v rámci nichž se scházejí mimo bohoslužby?

(stačí odpověď ano/ne, ale uvítal bych jakoukoliv další informaci)

A large rectangular text input field with a light gray border. On the right side, there are three small square buttons stacked vertically. On the bottom left, there are two small square buttons, and on the bottom right, there is one small square button.

6. Podílejí se laičtí členové vašeho sboru na přípravě a průběhu bohoslužeb?

Jestli ano, jakými způsoby?

A large rectangular text input field with a light gray border. On the right side, there are three small square buttons stacked vertically. On the bottom left, there are two small square buttons, and on the bottom right, there is one small square button.

7. Celkově vzato - řekl(a) byste, že většině lidí se dá věřit, nebo že člověk nemůže být při jednání s lidmi nikdy dostatečně ostražitý?

Vyberte prosím jednu z uvedených odpovědí

- ☐ většině lidí se dá věřit
- ☐ člověk není nikdy dost ostražitý

8. Celkově vzato - řekl(a) byste, že většině lidí ve vašem sboru se dá věřit, nebo že člověk nemůže být při jednání s lidmi ve vašem sboru nikdy dostatečně ostražitý?

Vyberte prosím jednu z uvedených odpovědí

- ☐ většině lidí ve sboru se dá věřit
- ☐ v našem sboru, člověk není nikdy dost ostražitý

9. Jaké znáte konkrétní případy pomoci, jež si dobrovolně poskytují mezi sebou členové vašeho sboru (mimocírkevní záležitost)?

(Prosím používejte následující stupnici pro vyjádření četnosti všech druhů pomoci, jak jste je zaznamenali:)

9.1 pomoc s hledáním práce

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
velmi často						nikdy

9.2 pomoc s hledáním bydlení

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
velmi často						nikdy

9.3 finanční pomoc

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
velmi často						nikdy

9.4 právní pomoc, poradenství

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
velmi často						nikdy

9.5 hlídání dětí nebo pomoc v domácnosti

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
velmi často						nikdy

9.6 členové přednostně využívají služeb živnostníků v rámci sboru (daňové účetnictví, překlady, stavební práce, atd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
velmi často						nikdy

9.7 ostatní (prosím o upřesnění: ____)


Můžete třeba napsat o co se jedná při otázce č. 9, kde není nutná žádná odpověď

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
velmi často						nikdy

10. Jak byste charakterizoval(a) poskytování pomoci v rámci vašeho sboru?

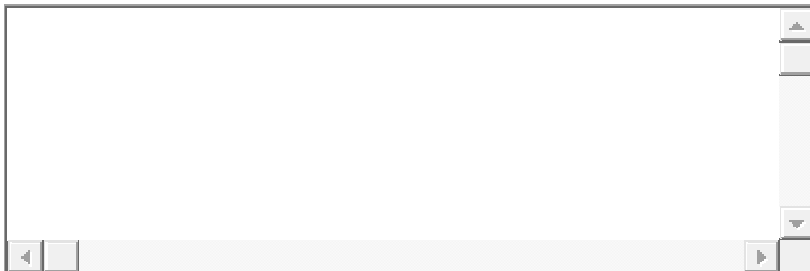
(Prosím vyberte jednu z níže uvedených možností)

- ☐ několik málo členů hodně pomáhají ostatním, zatímco zbytek členů ve sboru se tolik nezúčastňuje (jinými slovy: příjemců pomoci je hodně, pomocníků je málo)
- ☐ hodně členů pomáhají a hodně obdrží pomoc (hodně příjemců pomoci a zároveň hodně pomocníků)
- ☐ malý je počet pomocníků i příjemců pomoci

-  velký počet pomocníků a málo příjemců pomoci

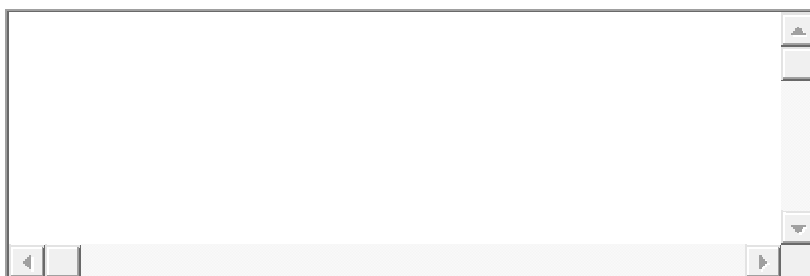
11. Vývoj aktivity sboru:

Popište vývoj účasti na sborových akcích během posledního roku. (např. jestli roste/klesá/zůstává stejné, apod.)



Děkuju Vám moc za váš čas a pomoc! Přeji Vám krásný den!

V případě, že mně chcete něco dalšího sdělit, co se týká tohoto výzkumu, máte místo zde:



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Appendix 4: Survey respondents

This table is a list of all of the congregations that responded to the survey, arranged in by size, in terms of average attendance at worship services, in decreasing order.

Congregation	Church	Average attendance	Activity score	Outcome score
Brno - Střední	Adventist	180	29	41
CASD Vojkovice F-M	Adventist	180	24	43
Sbor CASD ve Frýdku-Místku	Adventist	130	30	28
Prague	Mormon	120	23	43
Ceský Tešín	Adventist	100	14	25
Praha Krc	Adventist	100	16	18
Sbor CASD Znojmo	Adventist	100	31	21
Trinec	Adventist	100	17	31
Trinec -Lyžbice	Adventist	100	27	39
CASD Ostrava - Zábreh	Adventist	95	24	30
Sbor CASD Olomouc	Adventist	90	20	31
Brno	Mormon	80	24	32
CASD Ostrava- Svinov	Adventist	70	20	31
Havírov Suchá	Adventist	65	27	35
Brno- Západ, Lesná	Adventist	60	16	37
sbor CASD Karlovy Vary	Adventist	60	25	24
Sbor CASD Uherské Hradiště	Adventist	55	11	25
CASD Trutnov	Adventist	50	13	12
Sbor adventistu Vsetín	Adventist	50	15	28
sbor CASD Cervený Kostelec	Adventist	50	35	33
Sbor CASD Jablonec nad Nisou	Adventist	50	17	36
Sbor CASD Česká Třebová	Adventist	43	24	24
Hradec Králové	Adventist	40	17	24
Jihlava	Adventist	40	23	33
Kladno	Adventist	40	13	32
Pardubice	Adventist	40	20	14
Sbor CASD Policka	Adventist	40	14	24
Ždár nad Sázavou	Adventist	40	22	28
Uherské Hradiště	Mormon	32	10	29
CASD Vrchlabí	Adventist	30	16	18
Sbor CASD Decín	Adventist	30	13	32
Luže	Adventist	28	17	18
Ústí nad Labem	Adventist	28	13	22
CASD Holešov, Zlínský kraj	Adventist	25	10	7
CASD Úpice	Adventist	25	18	17
CASD, sbor Hranice	Adventist	25	26	35
Písek	Adventist	25	8	26
Plzeň	Mormon	25	13	26
Sázava	Adventist	25	8	27
Sbor CASD Praha Sedlec	Adventist	25	11	27

Congregation	Church	Average attendance	Activity score	Outcome score
Jihlava	Mormon	22	11	21
CASD Bruntál	Adventist	20	35	23
Sbor CASD Cheb	Adventist	20	14	31
Sbor CASD Dobruška	Adventist	20	4	25
VYŠKOV	Adventist	20	11	19
Brandýs nad Labem- Stará Boleslav	Adventist	18	10	19
Katerinice	Adventist	18	11	29
Plzen	Adventist	17	18	28
Trinity CASD Hradec Králové	Adventist	17	15	27
CASD Krnov	Adventist	15	14	43
CASD Litvínov	Adventist	15	8	26
CASD Nová šance Zábreh	Adventist	15	15	18
Sbor CASD Jindr.Hradec	Adventist	15	12	41
sbor CASD Šternberk	Adventist	15	18	23
Rakovník	Adventist	13	12	39
Telc	Adventist	12	10	21
Chocen	Adventist	10	9	14
Sbor Slaný (twice monthly)	Adventist	9	3	17
CASD - Chomutov	Adventist	6	9	25
Hrabyne	Adventist	0	0	9

Source: Author's survey

Note: CASD is a Czech abbreviation for Seventh-day Adventist Church. Sbor is Czech for congregation or, in Adventist terms, church.